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SIR ROBERT MOND, LL.D., F.R.S., J.P.
1867-1938

SIR ROBERT MOND, who was born at Farnworth, near Widnes, on September 9th, 1867, was the eldest son of the late Dr. Ludwig Mond, F.R.S. Educated at Cheltenham College and at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, he also studied at Zurich Polytechnicum and at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He was Hon. LL.D. of the University of Liverpool, and was elected F.R.S. only this year. He was knighted in 1932.

Sir Robert married twice. He first married in 1898 Helen Edith, third daughter of the late Julius Levis, by whom he had two daughters. She died in 1905, and in 1922 Sir Robert married Marie Louise, daughter of the late G. F. Le Manach, who survives him.

The obituary notice in the *Times* of October 24th has spoken of his achievements and activities as a man of science ; and in the same newspaper of November 2nd, Professor S. R. K. Glanville of University College, London, has paid tribute to his work as an excavator and restorer in Egypt, and to his generous support of Egyptological research in general ; but we in Liverpool are in private duty bound to put on record all that he did for the Institute of Archaeology of our University, and for several members of that foundation, and to try to express, however haltingly, our gratitude for his steady encouragement and kindness.

Sir Robert took, indeed, a deep interest in the Institute, and was a Vice-President and a most generous supporter of it from the time of its foundation. He not only made himself responsible for maintaining the Fellowship in the Archaeology of Music, but sent us regularly an annual subscription which formed a very substantial part of our income. In past years he had contributed very liberally to the cost of many of Professor Garstang's excavations in the Near East. More recently his restoration of the famous tomb of Ramose at Thebes was carried out under the auspices of the Institute, as were also his and Mr. Alan Rowe's excavations at Athribis, a report on which appears in this number.

The loss to the Institute occasioned by his passing is well-nigh irreparable. But the Resident Staff and other members will ever gratefully remember his friendliness, his wise counsels, and his great generosity.

Sir Robert was a most stimulating companion and his enthusiasm was highly (and most beneficially) infectious. It was a great pleasure to get him talking, for he had had so many experiences, and had known so many interesting people, and had himself done or was doing so much important work in such varied fields of research. In these respects he greatly resembled the late Professor Sayce.

Finally, let it be said that Sir Robert Mond was both a great Jew and a great Englishman. How intense was his affection for the country of his birth was very plainly revealed during a conversation with the writer on current affairs about a year ago. It was, therefore, most appropriate, especially since his ashes are buried in France, that the beautiful and impressive memorial service held on November 3rd in the West London Synagogue should have included among the prayers, psalms, and other portions of Scripture, appointed to be read or sung, the well-known poem of Rupert Brooke which begins with the words :

‘ If I should die, think only this of me :
That there ’s some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.’

A. M. BLACKMAN.

EXPLORATIONS IN CILICIA

THE NEILSON EXPEDITION: THIRD INTERIM REPORT

Excavations at Mersin: 1937-38

Parts I and II

By JOHN GARSTANG

In collaboration with SETON LLOYD, G. M. FITZGERALD, ALISON DUN,
and DOROTHY MARSHALL: with a Note by MILES BURKITT

WITH PLATES XVIII-XXXIII

I. GENERAL SURVEY

The Site. Following up the indications of the previous season's explorations in the Cilician plain (as described in the *Liverpool Annals*, XXIV, p. 52 ff., and XXV, p. 12 ff.), the Neilson Expedition devoted the whole of the winter season 1937-38 to the excavation of the ancient mound which lies just inland from the Port of Mersin. The real name of the mound is Yümük Tepe, but it is commonly known as Sôuk Su Hüyük,¹ and for our purposes may be more conveniently called Mersin Hüyük. Its situation and superficial appearance have been described, together with the results of our preliminary investigations (*Annals*, XXIV, p. 62). As the excavation now in progress will extend over two if not three seasons, no archaeological finality is contemplated in this report. Certain general conclusions, however, claim early publication.

Summary of Results. In more ways than one the site proves to be a 'key position.' In its origins it seems to have been the nursery of two successive prehistoric cultures hitherto unknown—the older one apparently Neolithic but in some ways peculiar; the second Chalcolithic with marked Mesopotamian contacts, but essentially local and distinctive. A subsequent transitional phase, not as yet defined, suggests some

1. 'Cold Water Mound,' from the name of the stream at its foot.

cultural relations with the West, in particular with Troy and Lesbos, in addition to possible contacts with Kusura and other Bronze Age sites upon the plateau, and may provide a link with more distant groups both East and West. Higher up, its relatively historic levels (2100-1500 B.C.) bear witness to a period of continuous occupation by people whose relationships extended to the Anatolian plateau and northern Syria; and they were crowned ultimately by a purely Hittite fortress of the Early Imperial Age. The uppermost levels show traces of interrupted periods of settlement in Early Greek, Byzantine, and mediaeval Arab times.

Organisation. This outline of our conclusions is based upon three separate related pieces of excavation, but since the conditions of work are unfamiliar to many, it may be worth while to give first a general idea of some of the technical problems involved, and our method of attack. In the first place a contoured plan of the site (Pl. XIX) was prepared; and an area of about an acre on the summit of the mound towards the north, overlooking the river where the slopes were steepest, was selected for systematic excavation. A 'Zero-point' for purposes of surveys and registration was established at the foot of the mound in the bed of the stream, and all levels are registered accordingly in metres and centimetres above that datum. A squared stone on the summit of the mound, by the south side of our main area, was fixed at exactly +25 metres.

Light rails were laid at once, so that the debris could be carried right away. One track led round the brink of the mound down stream, and was moved occasionally lower down the slope as the main excavation deepened. Another led to the north, across the level ground at the foot of the mound, which had been previously tested, towards a point where flood waters were making inroads in the left bank of the stream. This was fed by a chute of corrugated iron, pegged into a channel down the steep slope of the mound—a simple arrangement which worked well and had the advantage of being mobile and inexpensive. Local labourers had to be trained to this class of work, as to each other branch, and local forges provided the necessary iron-work and fittings. Unskilled labour was plentiful, and we began with a small gang of 30 or 40 men, gradually increasing the number as these learnt their jobs. Presently we were joined by workmen who were familiar with excavation at Tarsus, and later by others from the neighbourhood of Boghaz Köi, Alishar, and other districts of the plateau. In this aspect of the task we were ably

supported by Ali Riza Yalgan, Director of the Adana Museum, who personally and with great courtesy filled the formal rôle of government supervisor. Our excavating tools, equipment and instruments had been brought by sea from Acre (where the work of the expedition is suspended); and in this way all initial preparations were completed without loss of time. With these preliminary observations, and deferring for the time being the detailed record of our main excavation, we pass to examine tentatively the sequence of cultures indicated by the season's work, which as stated falls under three heads.

II. THE MOUND IN SECTION: SEQUENCE OF CULTURES

1. THE MAIN AREA. In the area selected, which we will call the Main Area, work began on November 2nd, and except for interruptions caused by exceptional rains later in the season continued until the middle of February. Seven main building levels were excavated and fully recorded during this first season. They will be described by Mr. Seton Lloyd in Part IV of this report. The first two building periods were found to be superficial and denuded, embracing as they did the slope of the mound towards its edge: they represent a Byzantine occupation which seems to have continued into the Middle Ages. Levels III and IV, though much disturbed, proved also to be post-Hittite. They are distinguished by a quantity of black glaze ware, geometric designs of Cypriote style and interesting East Greek fabrics, which indicate an occupation from the eighth to fifth centuries B.C. Levels V, VI and VII were contemporary with the Hittite fortress, and the pottery finds its counterparts in the Imperial levels of Alishar and Boghaz-Köi, while offering instructive comparisons with Miss Goldman's results at Tarsus.¹ Mr. FitzGerald's study of these levels will form part of the main report in the next volume of the *Annals*. Level VIII, upon which the fortress was built, was coming to light at a depth of 5 metres when we ceased work, and it proved to be the topmost stratum of a long Cilician-Hittite period, linking with what follows.

2. SECTION X. Meanwhile, in order to gain an insight into the stratification of the mound as a whole, and of the problems to be anticipated, it was decided to dig a large-scale sounding in addition to the Main

1. *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, p. 534 ff.

Excavation. For this purpose a space of about 8 m. by 15 m. (which we called X) was selected within the main area on its north-eastern border. Its position is marked on the contour plan (Pl. XIX). The work was done stratigraphically, and had reached the 9 m. level by the end of the season—13 metres, some 43 feet, below the point of attack. As the cutting deepened its width narrowed somewhat, but the area under excavation remained fairly constant as it was continually extended by the slope of the mound. Nineteen different occupation floors were disclosed in this cutting. The pottery from these, which was plentiful, as well as the small objects, reveals three successive but not altogether unrelated cultures: the uppermost Cilician-Hittite of the second millenium B.C.; the middle pre- or proto-Hittite of the period of Thermi and early Troy, and apparently also related to the Early Bronze Age of Syria; the lowest Chalcolithic, with both Eastern and Western contacts, while covering the periods of Al-'Ubad and Tell Halaf.

This sounding thus becomes an index to the future work, and the preliminary information obtained, which is described in detail below (in Part III), is particularly helpful in this case where the archaeological materials become less and less familiar (though not less informative) as the depth increases. There remains no doubt in the writer's opinion of the technical advantage of cutting such preliminary sections, especially when confronted with the unknown archaeology of a new area. They indicate the precautions to be taken and the preparations to be made in order to tackle with confidence the special problems of the site. Our experiences both here and in the low levels at Jericho have amply demonstrated the practical value of this method.

As the records concerning this part of our investigations will ultimately be incorporated in those of the main excavation, provisional notation by alphabetic letters was used on this occasion for registration of the successive strata in Section X and the objects found in connexion with them; and notwithstanding a certain inconvenience we continue to use these for the present, lest confusion should arise at a later stage. These letters range from e to z. 'Floors' e and f seem to correspond with levels III and IV of the main area. 'Floors' g to k inclusive proved to be constructional stages merely in a mass of *béton* (a concrete of mud and stones) such as is associated in the main area with the Hittite fortress wall for a purpose still unexplained; while 'floor' l contained drainage channels connected apparently with the fortress itself at level VII.

'Floor' m (at 18.48 m.) corresponds definitely with level VIII. Below this, the floors from o to w (together with other sub-floors 8 in number) represent five building levels, some of which may prove, however, to have been contemporary terraces. The culture throughout is Cilician-Hittite—that is to say, a local culture, distinct as a whole from that of the plateau, but clearly in contact with Hittite influence or with some common source. It seems to cover most of the period known as the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine.

At 'floor' x (level 14 m.) there occurred a marked change in the pottery styles (a change already observable in w, and continuing below) in which we seem to detect relations, on the one hand with the Early Bronze Age of Syria and Palestine, and on the other with Troy II, Yortan, Kusura and the Chalcolithic products of Alishar upon the plateau. Unfortunately the strata at this stage of the sounding were not easy to follow since the 'floors' below u/v began to dip increasingly towards the edge of the mound, while a number of ancient refuse pits, descending apparently from 'floors' v/w, added complication to the difficulties. As work proceeded it was found that the pre-Hittite occupation of the site (below floor-level w) enclosed a smaller area than the later one above it, so that the town walls of the phases represented by floors and sub-floors x and y (between the actual levels 14 m. and 10 m.) lay back some 15 metres from the edge of the mound. They were also built upon a different axis which caused them to run diagonally outwards. Moreover, the Early Hittite occupation had extended down the slopes of the mound in terraces, some of which fell much lower than the deposits now under consideration.¹ It was thus impossible to define the precise stratification of these lower levels.

The uppermost of them, levels x and xa, were, however, relatively intact and can be separated from those below, as from those above, by the special character of their pottery, although the intrusion of the pits has caused kindred specimens to find their way both upwards and downwards. The prospect of obtaining more precise results is, however,

1. In illustration of this 'dip': two precisely similar specimens of a peculiar stump-based pithos were found: one, near the middle in layer ya (with its mouth apparently at floor xc), level 11.75 m.; the other, on the outer slope, at level ye, 9.50 m.; but both belong to the same stratum, probably E.B.A., that of layer x/xa, 13-14 m. The dip at this level in the stratum thus appears to be as much as 4 m. at the edge of the mound, but this may include one or two terraces each about a metre deep. For this reason most of the objects found in the outer third of the cutting are eliminated from consideration.

good ; since it is probable that one or both the layers x and xa may underlie the main Cilician-Hittite area, and throw light upon a proto-Hittite as well as a pre-Hittite period. Even the pits, tiresome though they were, contained instructive groups, notably those labelled β (in the S.W. angle of the cutting) and γ in the western face ; but their existence necessarily involves a certain amount of admixture in the deposits. This is particularly the case with β , which may be taken to refer generally to the S.W. corner, and to include the contents of two short pits descending approximately from level v or w above.

Below layer xa (at 13 m.) down to 10 m., however, the deposits in this section were definitely extra-mural and confused : and though for registration purposes successive layers (suggested by partial floors, fallen walls and discontinuous striations) received their several distinctive letters, xb , xc , ya - yd , these do not in this case indicate building levels or occupation floors. Presumably they will be found to reflect periods of activity within the town walls ; and possibly the most marked striation (*i.e.* xc/ya) will be found to correspond with a change of culture. This, as will be seen, seems to be related to the group θ (Pl. XXVII), an interesting set of plain pottery forms, in which a solitary painted but unburnished fragment (No. 15) suggests an early phase of the Al-'Ubaid period. The apparent connexion between layer xc/ya and group θ may, however, prove to be illusory, as the latter was found under a fallen wall which may mark an earlier terracing of the area. More important is the fact that a small chisel of beaten copper, the lowest metal implement, came from this level (12 m.), as also did some fragmentary specimens of imported wares of ' Tell Halaf ' style and an increasing number of small flint and obsidian tools.

In view of these conditions, and especially as we propose to develop the area within the walls of this period, it is obviously better to treat these deposits for the time being as a whole, and we have tentatively grouped them here under the heading of the Chalcolithic period. They are full of interest. Not only do they illustrate a well-developed local culture with peculiarly attractive and suggestive pottery, but practically the whole range of the prehistoric cultures of Mesopotamia, including the periods of the cultures which bear the names of Jemdet Nasr, Uruk, Al-'Ubaid and Tell Halaf, seems to be represented by details of treatment or distinctive wares, together with imitative pieces of local fabric, thus shedding a welcome light upon the period of these finds. Real importa-

tions appear, however, only in very small proportion—a handful among thousands of the local fabrics. A glance at our Plates (XXIV-XXIX) will show that, though these deposits were confused amongst themselves, they represent a homogeneous whole; and the development of the main excavation not only promises a clear and instructive stratification, the interest of which is enhanced by the foreign contacts, but should solve numerous problems that already suggest themselves. One arises from the fact that masonry and pottery reminiscent of Troy I are found in common ground (near the S.E. corner) with certain eastern types and possible Uruk wares, and it remains to be seen what relation the developed stratification within the walls will establish between these distant cultures.

Summing up our observations thus far as regards this Section, we find four main features to be superimposed:—

- i. From m. 21-19-50: a deep layer of beton associated with the Hittite fortress of levels V-VII: IMPERIAL HITTITE.
- ii. From m. 19-50-14-50: A series of stratified building levels and floors (m-w) representing a continuous local culture and occupation during the Hittite period: CILICIAN HITTITE.
- iii. From m. 14-50-13: Deposits partly stratified representing two phases (x, xa), or more, of pre-Hittite cultures, including possible relations with Troy II, Thermi and the E.B.A. of Syria: PRE-HITTITE.
- iv. From m. 13-10: Jumbled extra-mural deposits of local prehistoric wares with clear Mesopotamian contacts—including Al-'Ubaid and Tell Halaf: CHALCOLITHIC.

At the tenth metre there was evidence of a radical change in culture, which is described in connexion with the work in Trench A, wherein the section was carried down to water level. Before discussing this it will be convenient to give at this stage a more detailed description of the prehistoric pottery of groups (iii) and (iv) in the schedule above. The pottery of the historic and early Cilician-Hittite levels now under excavation, as already stated, will be specially treated in the next instalment of this report dealing with the main area.

POTTERY OF THE PRE-HITTITE PERIOD

WITH PLATES XXI-XXIII

Below level w, as explained above, the deposits in Section X tended to become confused. Nonetheless, levels w and x could be traced continuously, and xa seemed to be separated from the underlying Chalcolithic deposits by irregular striations. As the pottery found in these levels proves to be varied in character and to contain elements of distinctive cultures, we group it tentatively together as representing a pre-Hittite period, *i.e.* earlier than any purely Hittite influence from the plateau, but not necessarily distinct from the Cilician-Hittite culture, of which it may prove to be an early manifestation, corresponding with the 'Early Bronze Age' elsewhere. At the same time it should be noted that the original stratification of the specimens, particularly at level xa and downwards, must remain problematical until we have dug further within the mound; so that it is not possible to say whether they represent a transitional phase between the Chalcolithic series and the Cilician-Hittite, or whether we must recognise a gap in the sequence below this level. With this reserve, selected specimens from these levels are illustrated on Pls. XXI to XXIII, and a rapid glance at these Plates will disclose their varied character and the significance of the relations they suggest.

On Pl. XXI, specimen no. 1 recalls the fabric and decoration of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine.¹ The ware is yellow-brown, wet-smoothed with a rough interior, while the paint is matt and dull red in tone. The jug-neck, no. 3, is exceptional and it is very crudely fitted on to the body of the vessel: it is made of warm brown clay, with a slip of the same and a decoration in dull red paint. The spouts illustrated, nos. 8 and 9, seem to be the forerunners of the Cilician-Hittite forms and are amongst the earliest types of that series. Fragment no. 13, with its umber paint upon a yellow-cream slip laid over brown ware, conforms with the standard type of the underlying deposits; but there is something in the style and execution of the decoration that recalls certain Middle Helladic specimens.²

Fragments 16 and 17 show incised patterns upon a burnished red slip, the first being a brown gritty ware and the latter brick red. The

1. Cf. *A.A.A.*, XXII, Pl. XXXVI, nos. 10 and 11.

2. Forsdyke: *B.M. Cat.*, p. 51, fig. 52.

feather pattern is of course widely used, and we may point for parallels to certain Early Bronze Age fragments from Thermi.¹ The *motif* on no. 17, which is uncommon, almost suggests fenced fields with huts enclosed; this specimen has a close parallel in the Chalcolithic deposits of Alishar,² where such patterns are commonly found upon fruit-stands; and the rather curious profile of our specimen may indicate the same form.

Fragments 20 to 22 illustrate the beginnings of the hatched triangle as a decorative feature. The cup, no. 20, is made of yellow clay with a slip of the same, upon which the decoration is carried out in matt red paint; the form and style approximate to Cilician-Hittite types. In the case, however, of nos. 21 and 22, the shapes and wares are reminiscent of the underlying period, and the presence of the triangle *motif* is all the more instructive. The form of these vessels may be compared with objects nos. 7 and 8 on Pl. XXV, which are characteristic of our Chalcolithic series; but it is to be recognised that they may equally well be shoulder fragments from a type of Cilician-Hittite jar with splaying rim. The fact that they seem to have been finished on a slow wheel tends to support the latter view. In both cases the paint is brown to black upon a yellow-cream slip, the ware of no. 21 being brown, and of no. 22 warm yellow.

The wares of the other fragments illustrated on Pl. XXI are as follows:—

No. 2, Brown clay, white grits, brown slip, dark red paint. 4, Yellow-brown clay and burnished slip of same, dull red paint. 5, Brown sandy clay, yellow-red slip, light red paint. 6, Pinky-brown ware, dark brown paint. 7, Brown core, white grits, wet-smoothed, brown-black paint. 8, Coarse black clay, white grits, wet-smoothed. 9, Brown gritty core, red burnished outside and over the inside of the rim. 10, Yellow-brown clay, yellow slip both sides, red paint. 11, Brown core, white grits, wet-smoothed, dark brown-black paint. 12, Pinky-brown ware, yellow slip, black paint. 14, Brown gritty core, wet-smoothed exterior, half-smoothed inside. 15, Grey ware, wet-smoothed exterior. 18 and 19, Brown sandy ware, yellow-brown wet-smoothed surface, dark umber paint.

Turning to the second of these Plates (XXII), we find the two dishes with single lateral handles again to be reminiscent of our Cilician-Hittite

1. Lamb (Winifred): *Thermi*, Pl. XIV, no. 2.

2. Von der Osten: *Alishar*, I, p. 58, fig. 65, nos. 9, 24, etc.; also p. 69, fig. 76, no. 4.

styles. No. 1 is in fact wheel-made ; the clay is pinky-buff with a warm burnished slip. The second example is hand-made and irregular in outline, though the clay is much the same. The little group of objects, nos. 3 to 6 (δ), discloses the presence of a different culture, intervening between the Chalcolithic and the established Cilician-Hittite. The jug, no. 3, is of burnished pink clay, and the cup, no. 4, of light brown clay, with a burnished slip but rough interior. Each of these objects has some distinctive feature. The small jug with side spout may be compared with specimens from Thermi¹ ; and similar spouts from the Chalcolithic levels at Alishar² occur on certain rounding cups, rather like no. 4 in shape. This cup (no. 4) also shows some resemblance to certain jugs from Kusura,³ and may be compared with examples from Troy⁴ and Thermi,⁵ though these parallels, in Miss Lamb's experience, 'are not near enough to imply more than a fundamental kinship.' The double vase, no. 5, which is made of unslipped red clay, recalls again a specimen from Thermi⁶ and also a Cypriote shape⁷ of later date. A link with the Cilician-Hittite series may be seen from the fact that a similar double vase was found in level u/v above, and this corresponds with the position of a triple vase found at Kazanlı in 1936.⁸ The small jug, no. 6, is made of the same material as the foregoing, that is red clay without slip, and the form of its lip rather attracts notice as being unlike any of the other specimens outside this deposit. The presence of a quite definite lip is suggested also on the cup, no. 4. Thus this small group, apart from the intrinsic interest of the specimens, gives fairly consistent indications of relationship with early Troy and Thermi and again suggests an overlap with the 'Chalcolithic' series of the plateau.

This suggestion seems to be borne out by the presence at the same level of the small vessel, no. 9, of reddish-grey ware with a burnished surface, the shape of which finds a ready parallel in a specimen of the Early Bronze Age from Thermi⁹ and a series of cups from Alishar.¹⁰

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1. Lamb (Winifred) : *Thermi*, p. 75, fig. 26, no. 7.
 2. Von der Osten : *Alishar*, I, Pl. VIII, b. 584, also d. 2764 ; cf. our no. 4.
 3. Lamb (Winifred) : *Kusura*, Pl. VII, nos. 5 and 6.
 4. Bittel : *P.F.K.*, Taf. XIII, no. 3.
 5. Lamb (Winifred) : *Thermi*, p. 75, fig. 26, cup no. 1.
 6. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI, no. 366.
 7. Lamb (Winifred) : *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, II, Pl. VIII, no. 13.
 8. *A.A.A.*, XXV, Pl. VII, no. 10.
 9. Lamb (Winifred) : *Thermi*, Pl. XXXVI, no. 308.
 10. Von der Osten : *Alishar*, I, Pl. VIII, b. 270, c. 915, etc.

Even more intriguing are fragments from handled vessels like those numbered 10 and 12. Similar specimens were found in the lowest Cilician-Hittite levels, and the vase figured as no. 12 came actually from level u. Possibly the types ranged from one period to the other; but small fragments were liable to be carried upwards in mortar or downwards through pits or other disturbances of the soil. The doubt about the stratifications at this stage is regrettable, as these specimens certainly refer us to the Troy Catalogue.¹ Both types are found elsewhere: no. 10 at Alishar² and at Eutresis³ in the period of Early Helladic II; while specimen no. 12 may be compared again with forms from Alishar⁴ and from Kultepe⁵; but the resemblance to the severer types from Troy is definite. As a whole, then, the specimens on this Plate seem to link these strata with the period of Troy I-II, that is to the middle of the third millennium, or possibly as early as 3000 B.C.

The wares of the other vessels on Pl. XXII are as follows: No. 7, Red clay. 8, Buff clay, red slip, slightly burnished. 9, Reddish-grey clay, unslipped. 11, Buff ware, burnished red slip.

The objects figured on the third Plate (XXIII) were found in a pit (γ), and for that reason may cover some range of time. The standard ware of these vessels is red clay with a red slip, the only variants being no. 2, which is of buff clay with a red slip; no. 4, which has a cream slip (darkened) on grey-buff ware⁶; and no. 7, which is of buff ware with a pink slip. A distinctive feature of these specimens is the neck shape of jugs 7-9; and Miss Winifred Lamb, who has seen the drawings of all our examples, has kindly communicated her opinion about their possible relationships with the West: 'The narrow-necked globular jugs are certainly nearer to the Trojan ones than to any other Anatolian jugs which I can find; and the double vases, of which there are two, recall Thermi. Yet I cannot feel that there is any direct contact, and some of the parallels with West and Central Anatolian material which suggest themselves, and which I have noted on the drawings, seem to be due to a

1. Schmidt: *T.A.*, p. 76, no. 1764, etc., cf. our no. 10; *ibid.*, pp. 61-2, nos. 1428 and 1443, cf. our no. 12; and Bittel: *P.F.K.*, Taf. XIII, no. 9, cf. our no. 10; *ibid.*, Taf. XII, no. 2.

2. Von der Osten: *Alishar*, II, Pl. IV, c. 2636.

3. Goldman (Hetty): *Eutresis*, p. 105, fig. 138.

4. Von der Osten: *Alishar*, I, Pl. VIII, b. 37, etc.; and Bittel: *P.F.K.*, Taf. XV, nos. 3 and 4.

5. *Ibid.*, Taf. XVII, nos. 6 and 7.

6. This vessel, so far as it is preserved, conforms with an established Cilician-Hittite shape, which appears also on the oblation scene at Malatia.

fundamental kinship of the population at this stage rather than to any closer bond. It is, of course, difficult to form a reliable opinion without seeing the vases themselves.

‘The possible connexion with the Cyclades and with Yortan raises some interesting points, but I cannot detect any trace of relationship with the former, which seems to have only affected certain sites on the west coast; while at Yortan, the only counterparts to Mersin seem to be confined to those late and uncharacteristic Yortan vases concerning which there has been so much controversy.’

Regarding the evidence of these three Plates, we seem to find traces of an overlap with the Chalcolithic or Copper Age of the Plateau and the Early Bronze Age or Troy II period of the West. At the same time we are linked with the bottom of our Cilician-Hittite series; and in a single instance (Pl. XXI, no. 1) with the Early Bronze Age (ii) in Palestine, the date of which is established and may be as early as 2900 B.C. Unless the assemblage of this material is fortuitous, we have thus a valuable liaison between these distant cultures. The possible relations with Troy I and the clearer stratifications of these groups awaits further investigation.

POTTERY OF THE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD

WITH PLATES XXIV-XXIX

The Cream Slip Ware. The most distinctive pottery of the Chalcolithic period is covered with a creamy light yellow slip, burnished, and decorated with matt black paint. This black colour sometimes shades into dark brown or umber, a variation possibly due to the process of firing, but it is always matt, having been laid on apparently after the slip-surface had been burnished. The clay of the standard fabrics is usually buff colour and freely mixed with grits, which, though fine in the rarer varieties of thin pottery, tend to be fairly coarse in the larger vessels. Examples of form and decoration are shown on Pls. XXIV-XXV.

The form of the two-handled painted jars is almost standardised: the body is like a flattened globe opening into a wide neck which narrows slightly towards the rim, and is of useful length. It recalls distantly the familiar shape of certain jugs from Thessaly, assigned to the second Neolithic period¹; but the resemblance goes no further, though occasionally the position of the strap handles on the latter is much the same.

1. Wace and Thompson: *Preh. Thessaly*, p. 32, fig. 11.

Somewhat similar jar shapes are found at Nineveh and Samarra, but comparison tends to emphasise the differences. The form seems to be a local one—based conceivably upon the gourd—and lower down we shall find reason to believe that its peculiar shape of neck is derived from an earlier model of the Neolithic period.¹

The handles on the Mersin jars are uniformly vertical straps, set just above the broadest portion of the curve, an easy position for pouring out the contents. The decoration also exhibits certain fashions, notably a festooned collar around the neck and rim, with groups of lines drawn sometimes with a multiple brush dividing the body into segments, some of which are further treated with linear devices or round spots. The jars (nos. 1-3)² on Pl. XXIV are typical examples, and all come from the deeper levels. No. 4 pictures a rarer variant; and though incomplete it shows the decoration, so far as preserved, to have been all executed in closed groups of parallel lines, while the paint tends to be warm in tone. From its provenance it appears to belong to the upper half of the series. On the other hand, on the jar no. 5 (which though small is standard in form and style) the paint shows brown rather than black though it comes from the deepest level, so that, as surmised above, occasional fluctuations in colour are probably due to accidents in firing. The necks in both these cases are more upright than on the jars 1-3.

The neck no. 7 shows a variant style of decoration in which the *motif* comprises hanging loops and lines in addition to the customary festoon pattern; and on this specimen, which comes from midway down, the paint is again warm, almost chocolate in tone. The surface itself seems to have been washed with rather than dipped in slip, but retains its cream finish. Specimen no. 6 exhibits a different technique, but is of relatively later date: it comes from level *xc/ya* in the outer portion of the cutting, which is roughly equivalent to *x/xa* in the better stratified area further in, so that it only doubtfully falls within the Chalcolithic period. In form and treatment, however, it is standard, with only the colour varying to a chocolate tone. The pattern, however, attracts the eye as unlike the rest; the festoons around the collar are bold and are opposed by still bolder upturned loops below the level of the handles,

1. Cf. Pl. XXX, nos. 1 and 2.

2. The index figure 2 attached to certain sub-layers of level y indicates that the find spot was within 4 metres of the town wall. This additional precaution was taken in an effort to test the value of the stratification in the most likely area, but for the reasons stated it did not give coherent results.

on which again the *motif* is unfamiliar at this period. Nearer parallels to this style of decoration are to be sought in the Early Hittite or Pre-Hittite wares.

Examples nos. 8 and 9 illustrate fragments of a bowl and of a cup with handle.¹ Technically, the pottery and treatment of the surface is the same; the clay is more than usually compact and the grits finer than is the case in the larger vessels, but the slip is the standard cream colour and burnished, while the simple patterns in festoons and lines fall readily within this category. In the case of no. 8 the paint is also the standard matt black, and the device in chevron is reminiscent of one of the oldest decorative styles found on this site. On specimen no. 9 the paint is matt as usual, but it tends to be warm, umber or chocolate in tone. The form and decoration of this vessel may be compared with that of no. 8 on Pl. XXVI, which comes from approximately the same provenance.

Further varieties in the Chalcolithic wares are illustrated on Pls. XXV-XXVI; and they all seem to be local fabrics, corresponding more or less with the standard types of Pl. XXIV, with the exception of nos. 1-5 on Pl. XXV, which were probably imported. Moreover, the fact that all these objects were found within a relatively small space (in the south-west corner of area X) makes it possible to regard them as a group. On the other hand they include the contents of a shallow pit (β). The registration letters, therefore, which extend from *xa* downwards progressively to *yd*, while indicating the strata at which these specimens were found, do not necessarily indicate their original chronological relationship.

The variations from the standard types which they illustrate extend to form, decoration and technique. The neck of no. 1 on Pl. XXV is rather narrower than those previously seen, but otherwise the form seems to have been standard. The clay is buff, the slip cream, and the paint chocolate colour. Its most interesting feature is one of decoration in which the *motif* comprises solid triangles opposed, alternating with an enclosed triangle filled chevron-wise with lines. The latter feature reappears in no. 3, where the handle also is treated with parallel bands. The form, however, seems different. Unfortunately the upper part of both vessels is too broken for any reliable reconstruction to be attempted; but in no. 3 there is a distinct suggestion of an everted rim, a feature

1. Both these are reproduced on twice the scale of the other drawings on this Plate.

already noticed in connexion with no. 8 on the previous Plate. The core of this vessel (no. 3) is brown with fine grits, the surface is wet-smoothed without slip, and the paint is matt black. Jar no. 2 is standard in shape and pattern, but the clay and slip are grey and the paint almost chocolate. An interesting feature is the symmetry of enclosed linear decoration on each side of the handles (of which there are only two). Fragments 4 and 5 give further illustration of a common theme of decoration (already seen on Pl. XXIV and comparable with certain specimens of later Ninevite 2). The surface in each case is a burnished creamy-yellow slip, the paint on the former is black to umber in colour, while that of no. 5 is red. Both are matt.

Looking now to the bottom of this Plate we find a change of form in the higher shoulder of jars 10 and 11. In shape these may be compared with certain Early Cycladic vessels from Antiparos¹ now in the British Museum. The high shoulder is suggested also in fragments 7 and 8; and a relatively fine line is used in the decoration of these four specimens. A further variety of shape is seen in bowl no. 6, on which though the vessel narrows towards the mouth there is a suggestion of eversion, in that the outline of the vessel below the rim is slightly concave. On this vessel (no. 6) the upper theme of decoration by parallel wavy lines is carried out with a multiple brush, while the second register combines this treatment with multiple lines in chevron.² The clay in this case is red in colour, the surface is burnished and the decoration in matt black paint.

The use of the multiple brush and in particular the devices to which it is applied recall similar features of decoration upon pre-dynastic Egyptian pottery.³ Exactly similar treatment appears at Judeideh⁴ in level XII associated with Jemdat-Nasr cylinder seals, and hence approximately dateable. Though so distant these parallels give food for thought, for in a general way they may correspond in date, *i.e.* towards the end of the fourth millennium B.C. It remains for further investigation to establish the more precise date of the Mersin examples, which were found in this cutting scattered throughout the Chalcolithic deposit. Other

1. Notably those illustrated in Forsdyke's *Catalogue*, I, 1, A. 302, and particularly on Pl. IV, A. 301; but there is no further resemblance.

2. A similar combination in design but executed by incisions appears on certain Cypriote jugs; cf. *B.M. Cat.*, 1936, fig. 55, C and D.

3. Petrie: *Prehistoric Egypt. Corpus*, Pl. XXXI, 2D, 10G, 10K, 11N, 12B, 12D; Pl. XXXII, 30N, 20G, etc.

4. Braidwood: *O.I.P.*, XLVIII, p. 7.

specimens are illustrated on Pls. XXVI, no. 14, and XXIX, no. 5. The incidence of the wavy-line treatment, done in this way with a single brush, appears on fragment no. 9 on Pl. XXV, which is of standard fabric. It is perhaps significant that it was found towards the bottom of the Chalcolithic deposit, but no final inference can be made about the development of the local decorative technique and styles until further excavation provides a surer standpoint. The execution of this *motif* finds almost exact parallels on certain fragments from level XVII at Warka,¹ but this site provides as yet only doubtful material for comparison.

On the next Plate (XXVI) the painted fragments nos. 2-5 show clear Mesopotamian contacts,² and with them were found some typical Tell Halaf pieces, definitely imported, as well as others made in imitation on the spot (*e.g.* no. 4). In the Ninevite series they would be well placed in period 2 (b). This link with the Mesopotamian Chalcolithic series is opportune, but the full importance of this evidence will only be realised when we have secured the correct stratification of these foreign types.

Specimen no. 1 on Pl. XXVI is perplexing. The vessel was apparently globular in form, though the curve is not quite regular: the decoration, though not exactly polychrome, is in three colours; while the body of the vessel is covered with a cream slip rather darker than our usual Mersin style, and left unburnished. It is decorated with groups of symmetrically arranged bands in red paint, burnished, enclosed between broad black lines which are not burnished. Such curving *motifs* are rare on prehistoric pottery; examples might be quoted, on the one hand, from Neolithic Thessaly,³ and on the other from Arpachiyah, but these are far from being real analogies. The *motif* on our fragment is neither formal nor geometric; and the piece though found relatively high in the deposit near pit β , and possibly to be assigned to the pre-Hittite levels, seems indubitably to be hand-made. This rules out comparison with the wares of historic times.⁴ On the other hand, ready parallels in scheme and colouration are to be found in certain prehistoric sites of Dacia, in particular a vessel from Bont \u0119 ști,⁵ but unfortunately our fragment is too small to establish any real relationship. The suggestion is intriguing, and especially as other fragments in our series seem to

1. Nöldeke: *Uruk*, Level XVII. Taf. 17, B.

2. *E.g.* Mallowan: *Iraq*, I, Arpachiyah, fig. 34, no. 7.

3. Cf. Forsdyke: *Cat.* I, 1, Fig. 45.

4. *E.g.* Ras Shamra, II, *Syria*, XIII, xii, 13.

5. Dumitrescu: *Dacia*, III-IV, p. 106 and Pl. I; cf. also p. 76 and Pl. III.

point to a Danubian connexion. We must await, however, better evidence.

The kinship of the handled cup no. 8 with that already figured on Ch. XXIV, no. 9, has already been noticed: it is grouped here with other fragments found in the same context. Specimens nos. 6, 9 and 10 possibly illustrate a method of adapting the linear pattern to the position of a handle, already noticed in other cases, *e.g.* nos. 2 and 3 on Pl. XXV. The wares in these instances are standard. Fragments nos. 7 and 11 illustrate the common method of rectilinear decoration in which the lines are closed across the ends, indeed in the latter case recrossed so as to form rectangles. The more usual treatment is seen in fragment no. 12 which comes from a relatively high level in the series and was in fact the first piece to be found. It is standard as regards form and paint; and the treatment of the spaces between the sets of vertical lines may be compared with what has gone before, illustrated on Pl. XXIV (nos. 1 and 5).

A fresh shape of large bowl narrowing towards the mouth, which is 38 cms. in diameter, is illustrated by the fragment no. 13 in which again the features are typical of the local art of the period. Both this and no. 11 are standard in regard to fabric and decoration. At the bottom of this Plate, figs. 15 and 16 bear witness to still another shape of dish with the rim sloping or turning outwards. The decoration on both, though not common, conforms with previous examples, and is carried out in standard fashion with umber paint upon a yellow slip. It is well to remind ourselves, with reference to Pls. XXV-XXVI, that all the fragments illustrated came from a relatively small and restricted area, well back from the surface intrusions and terracings to which we have alluded, though not free altogether from the danger of admixture due to the presence of certain shallow pits. Thus the stratification of these fragments, indicated by the provenance given with each one, though perhaps more reliable than elsewhere in this cutting, still requires confirmation from an undisturbed deposit.

Thus far we have considered only the types and variations of decorated wares in our Chalcolithic deposit. On Pl. XXVII are illustrated a number of undecorated vessels found together half-way down this deposit in a context (already described) which leaves no doubt about their being contemporary with one another. In this group (θ) were the fragments of only one decorated vase, no. 15; and this, while comparable in shape

with those illustrated on Pl. XXIV, no. 9, and Pl. XXVI, no. 8, carries us for its analogies again towards the East. The clay is buff, washed with a cream slip and decorated with a black paint, all unburnished. Though details of the fabric do not enable us to say that this object was imported—indeed other undecorated examples of this class were found in the same deposit—yet it differs essentially from the standard fabrics of this site in that the surface was left unpolished: the paint is dull black on a greyish-yellow ground. In this respect, and also in the theme of its decoration, it resembles closely a specimen from the lowest Al-'Ubaid levels at Ur, now exhibited in the British Museum—indeed, the pattern is the same in all essential details.¹ In view, however, of the uncertainty of our stratification, and the long range of similar *motifs* in decoration, it would be unwise to push the argument further.

This being so, the two specimens, nos. 1 and 13, specially attract attention. No. 1, a bowl with low crescental handles lying on the pot, is made of buff clay covered with a brown to black slip, hand-made like all members of this group. The shape of the bowl is normal, but the crescental handle is a feature not yet met with in so early a context, though some Early Cycladic² specimens show it, and examples have been found at Yortan. Its incidence in the Aegean area seems to be general in the period of Troy II, where also it occurs.³ It is represented at Kusura,⁴ but apparently not at this period at Alishar or Alaca Hüyük,⁵ though on the latter site a good example appears on a red burnished fabric, which is, however, wheel-made and presumably of later date. In Cilicia it is not common in Early Hittite or Proto-Hittite levels.⁶ A specimen was found at the levels of the early rampart at Kazanlı by us in 1936, the colour being brown upon a grey core, while in our preliminary work at Mersin a good specimen of a bowl with four such handles, burnished black upon a warm brown clay, occurred approximately at level 14 metres.⁷

In the example we are now considering, though warm patches appear in the surface, the fabric is not the same as the so-called Khirbet Kerak

1. *Brit. Mus.* 122887. Cf. also *B.M.* 122896. Mr. Mallowan points out that the design can appear equally well on Tell Halaf wares (on which, however, one would expect the paint to be burnished), and that it ranged as late as Ninevite 5.

2. Specimens in the Early Helladic series are decorated but illustrate familiarity with this feature. Cf. Goldman (Hetty): *Eutresis*, p. 93, fig. 116, nos. 1 and 4.

3. Cf. Schmidt (H): *T.A.*, p. 20, no. 417; p. 35, no. 638.

4. Cf. Lamb (Winifred): *Kusura*, p. 25.

5. Remzi Oguz Arik: *Alaca*, Pl. CXXI, Al. 758.

6. Garstang (J.): *A.A.A.*, XXV, Pl. IX, no. 25.

7. *Ibid.*, XXIV, Pl. XVI, no. 6.

wares which have been traced through Syria from Judeideh,¹ level XI, as far as Jericho in Palestine, where it occurred in Tomb A² and in the city levels of E.B. iii.³ We seem in fact to have three distinct periods at Mersin in which the influx or recurrence of black burnished wares becomes conspicuous: one in the Pre-Hittite levels, where the contacts are with Troy and Yortan, a second which is illustrated by various specimens on this Plate apparently from the middle of our Chalcolithic series, and a third in the Neolithic series yet to be described below.

Jar no. 13, on the other hand, is simply a variety of the standard local fabrics, being made of buff clay covered with a cream slip, mottled pink and black from baking, and slightly burnished but left undecorated. It falls readily into our Chalcolithic series. The same may be said of the jar mouth no. 14, which is of standard fabric: its special interest lies in the slightly everted rim, suggested but not preserved on specimens previously described. This detail recalls a prevailing shape among the Mesopotamian Chalcolithic series. The other bowl and dish forms may be regarded as types of the more domestic wares. Among the shapes, the incurving bowl-forms of nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 and 12 confirm the suggestion already seen on our previous Plates. There is, however, this difference, that quite a number of these specimens are finished black with a burnished slip upon grey clay. This includes nos. 8, 10, 11 and 12. On the other hand, vessels nos. 2, 4, 5, 7 and 9, like 13 and 14, are finished in the established standard fashion, viz. a burnished cream slip upon buff clay. The difference does not appear to be a matter of firing, but the result of definite intention.

Some peculiarities should, however, be noted. Thus, while the surface of bowl no. 5 is black and burnished, the clay is buff. On the other hand, though the clay of the two-handled vessel no. 6 is also buff, the slip surface is brown. This object is really larger than would appear, for the drawing is reproduced on half the scale of all the preceding numbers. This group, while illustrating a variety of plain wares, thus introduces a quite new technique illustrated by the black slip wares. Possibly these were reserved for domestic uses or cooking, but as fire had affected the whole of this deposit it is not possible yet to distinguish cooking-pots from other varieties. Certainly the coarse grit ware which one associates with cooking-pots does not seem to be represented unless it be no. 3.

1. Braidwood (R. J.): *Plain of Antioch*, p. 7.

2. *A.A.A.*, XIX, Pl. VI, no. 11.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, Pl. XXVII, no. 7, etc.

In conclusion, features not present on the Chalcolithic pottery hitherto described are seen in the first two examples, viz. the crescental handle welded to the side of the vessel, which continues, and the plain ledge handle which does not seem to have survived this period. The handles on vessel no. 6 seem to be rather slender for the size of the object, and they are placed below the widest part; but as this is the only example of its kind which we have been able to restore, it is not possible to say whether it represents a standard type.

Further examples of plain wares are illustrated on the next Plate (XXVIII). The thick inturned rims, nos. 1-3, suggest domestic store-bins. Such rim-shapes have a wide distribution in the Chalcolithic period, and may be compared with some from Jericho.¹ The clay of these examples is brown, and the surface is covered with the standard local creamy-yellow slip. They form part of the deposit β , already mentioned in connexion with Plate XXVI, together with the rim shape no. 5, and the two vessels, nos. 12 and 13. The first of these (no. 5) looks like the rim of an open jug of coarse fabric, but is unusually straight. Rim shape no. 6, on the other hand, is rare at Mersin, though characteristic of the Mesopotamian Chalcolithic series²; and the same may be said of the dish rim no. 8.

The small bowls numbered 10 and 11 hardly call for comment. Both are found relatively high in the series: the former is made of red clay with slip of the same, though rough and hand-made; while the latter is buff-coloured and of smoother finish. Bowls 12 and 13 form part of the deposit β , the painted fabrics of which have been described. The clay of the former shows grey, the other buff; both are finished with a black slipped surface burnished on both sides and showing warm patches. The resemblance to the Khirbet-Kerak wares is certainly suggestive and would seem at first sight to link this group with the Chalcolithic black-slipped wares of Alishar upon the Anatolian plateau. There is, however, a certain thickness and lack of quality in the finish of these two objects which makes one hesitate to accept this resemblance, and to look rather to the series from Ahlatlibel and further west. One must not forget also the presence of shallow pits in this area, which may prove to link these vessels with the Yortan-Troy II group found just above.

1. *A.A.A.*, XXII, Pl. XLI, etc.

2. *E.g.* Mallowan (*M. E. L.*): *Iraq*, II, fig. 37, no. 1, etc.

The shape of no. 12 claims attention. The combination of a carinated body with an everted rim is rare at this period. This shape in fact simulates a common form of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria and Palestine and is reflected in the contemporary Middle Minoan period of Crete. The nearest example from Yortan,¹ again, though made of hard yellow clay burnished brown and black, proves to be wheel-made and is not to be classed as a primitive fabric; 'its shape is Trojan of the 7th City.' The familiar examples of this form therefore appear to be of later date. Partial carination is met with at Alishar² in the Chalcolithic series and in the Early Bronze Age specimens of Ahlatlibel. It is also found at Kusura associated with a high everting rim shaped to a spout. Nearer perhaps to our specimen in form is a cup with high handle from Troy,³ while a cup from Eutresis of Early Helladic I (iii)⁴ is not dissimilar; both these specimens have everted rims. Perhaps the nearest analogy is a vase from Kültepe,⁵ which is equated by Dr. Bittel with specimens from Alishar 1 b, and assigned to the Chalcolithic period; but the Kültepe specimen, like others from the plateau, ends in a point rather than a flattened base. We thus do not find any contemporary parallel for this relatively simple form elsewhere; and bearing in mind the semi-carinated shape of certain objects already described, notably the bowl-shape on Pl. XXVII, no. 8, and also the tendency to everted rims, *ibid.* no. 14, also Pl. XXV, no. 3, and Pl. XXIV, no. 8, it remains possible that this shape and fabric must again be deemed to be of local origin. We can only hope for further specimens to elucidate the point.

We have already spoken of the low crescental handle which forms a special feature of no. 13, on which it appears rather in miniature. Other handles from the Chalcolithic deposits are figured below (nos. 14-19, etc.). The common handle, as will be recalled, is of strap shape, somewhat hollowed or concave on the outer surface (*e.g.* Pl. XXV, no. 3, Pl. XXVI, no. 8), and we have found hitherto little variation from this standard type. Exceptions have been noted in the description of Pl. XXVII, no. 2, where a hole-mouthed bowl is provided with simple ledge handles, and this style has other examples. The specimens figured on the Plate we are describing are, however, different. A rounding loop handle

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1. Forsdyke (E. J.): *P.A.P.*, p. 12, A. 67.
 2. Von der Osten: *Alishar*, I, fig. 70, c. 2747.
 3. Schmidt (H.): *T.A.*, p. 38, nos. 722-726, etc.
 4. Goldman (Hetty): *Eutresis*, p. 119, fig. 160.
 5. Bittel (K.): *P.F.K.*, Taf. V, no. 3.

attached wholly to the rim (no. 14) is made of buff clay (? red slip). It is not unlike certain dish handles from Ahlatlibel¹ and elsewhere upon the plateau, and conceivably it might belong to a spoon-shaped object such as was found at Eutresis² of Early Helladic date. It reminds one most, however, of the loop handles of a sacramental vase, figured on a well-known oblation scene from Malatia, where M. Delaporte's recent excavations have disclosed more archaic vessels of this kind; and doubtless this vase-shape was traditional and it may have had a very early origin. Our specimen comes from group γ and rather high up in the series, so that, as with the two previous specimens, it may prove to be dated to the Yortan-Troy period. The other vertical handle figured on this Plate, no. 24, attached to a hole-mouthed cup, is a more familiar West Anatolian shape, though flattened and resembling the strap handles in section. The clay in this case is brown in colour.

The series nos. 15-18 illustrates a new type for which no ready parallel can be found. We call it the 'tab handle.' It rises from the rim of the vessel, and as the latter is curving inwards, the handle curves slightly outwards, so as not to reduce the aperture. Its attachment to the pot ends like a lug, and is usually pierced. The forms of the vessels are not certain, but they seem in all cases to be small bowls. No. 17 is decorated with white-filled punctuations arranged within a border. Nos. 15 and 16 are painted, as also is the handle in the former case. The decoration of this handle, no. 15, recalls vividly the *face-motif* incised upon an unpierced lug handle from Kish,³ now exhibited in the Ashmolean Museum; and there would seem to be an undoubted relationship in this respect. Lug handles somewhat resembling ours in shape, but placed by the side of the rim, have been found at Thermi by Miss Lamb, and are ascribed to period B; the ware of these is dull grey with traces of red slip; that of our no. 15 is buff ware, pinky slip with umber paint. The tab handle, no. 16, is of brown clay wet-smoothed and the paint is in red lines. The core of no. 17 is grey and the surface is burnished black inside and out, and the punctuations, as already said, are white-filled. In no. 18 the clay is brown and gritty, the slip warm yellow with blotched traces of decoration, the surface being matt red. The handle illustrated in figures 19 and 22 is also of a new style. The latter forms part of a splendid vessel,

1. Bittel (K.): *P.F.K.*, Taf. VI, nos. 10 and 11.

2. Goldman (Hetty): *Eutresis*, p. 87, fig. 106, nos. 1 and 2.

3. D. B. Harden: *Iraq*, I, Pl. VI, b. 6.

the base of which is partly preserved, made of dark grey clay, covered by a black burnished slip with warmer traces. Like the tab handle, it rises almost directly from the rim, but it is broad and folded over, and concave towards the middle. Its depth is shallow, but a cord could be easily passed through it. In this case also a sacramental rather than a domestic bowl is suggested by the quality and special features of the object. In date it may be pre- or proto-Hittite.

No. 25 represents one of a pair of ledge handles, which, from the contour of the object, seem to be placed curiously upon the inside. It is possible, however, that they belonged to a flat-sided vessel which was pushed inwards at the position of the handles; a square or oblong shape would readily lend itself to this result. No. 26 represents part of a crude spit-support, which unfortunately perished upon exposure with only a field-sketch to tell us of its features. It is apparently similar in design to a specimen found at Alishar ¹ of a later period, and there is no indication on our example, which comes deep in the Chalcolithic series, that it had a handle or any other feature of the kind. There was also another fragment of rather different shape, like that found in the Chalcolithic stratum at Rakhmani ² in the same provenance as certain jars already cited as resembling some of our Chalcolithic shapes.

Though we defer publication of numerous fragmentary specimens of incised and other interesting wares, the type figured as no. 21 claims place here. In this class the *motif* is carried out both in paint and by incision. On the specimen figured the paint, which is a dark umber, fills a triangle; there is no means of knowing exactly how the incised pattern is arranged, but on another specimen similar incised *motifs* are arranged also in triangles; and to judge from a faint indication at the bottom of this fragment, such may have been the case here. The clay is dark grey, lighter towards the surface, where it is covered by a thick buff slip. The incisions are jagged. Another specimen has a thick red slip, highly burnished, but the fragment is too small to give any further idea of the shape or pattern. The combination of the jagged *motif* with burnishing and bands of paint recalls a vessel found at Alaca Hüyük,³ now exhibited in the Museum at Ankara, though the analogy is not complete. The combination of the jagged *motif* with painted decoration

1. Von der Osten : *Alishar*, I, p. 266, fig. 278.

2. Wace and Thompson : *P.T.*, p. 43, fig. 19.

3. Remzi Oguz Arik : *Alaca*, Pl. CCXI, no. 726.

is found also at Nineveh¹ appropriately in level 2, but here again the specimens are fragmentary and further comment may well be deferred.

The three bowl-shapes figured as nos. 1-3 on the next Plate (XXIX) present further problems. In general they are of similar fabric, a brown or yellow clay with wet-smoothed surface, decorated with dark umber paint; all appear to be hand-made and come from a good depth in the Chalcolithic deposit. Very similar decorated types have been found at Ras Shamra,² though these are given a later date. Our specimens, however, are only fragments, and it is noticeable that no fitting fragments were recovered from these levels; whereas a more complete example, similar in all respects, was found higher up in the Cilician-Hittite levels and introduced here for comparison (fig. 7). In our experience isolated fragments are liable to have become displaced, and this for two reasons: some were carried upwards from generation to generation, being built into bricks or into the bonding of walls; others found their way downwards through pits and other disturbances of the soil. Still the relative frequency of such types in the Chalcolithic deposits leaves a possibility that they really belong to this *milieu*.³ About the fragment no. 4 there is less doubt, and the decorative *motif* again is familiar upon Mesopotamian pottery of the Al-'Ubaid period. It is made of brown clay covered with the standard yellow-cream slip burnished, and the decoration is carried out in dull black paint, a technique which points to a local fabric. The shape again is that of a bowl or possibly a cup with handle as figured on Pl. XXVI, no. 8. This seems to be confirmed by the close resemblance in form and decoration of these fragments to certain Mesopotamian bowls of the Al-'Ubaid period, notably specimens from Arpachiyah, and others recently found by Mr. Seton Lloyd to the west of Nineveh.

Of the remaining objects on Pl. XXIX, nos. 5 to 11 illustrate a diversity of form and pattern. The *motif* of no. 5 is interesting for its combination of multiple brush lines in waves and discontinuous chevrons. The vase on Pl. XXV, no. 6, illustrates a similar composite design. The clay in this case is reddish with a slip of the same, and the paint is chocolate in colour. Numbers 6 and 7, which also afford varieties in design, are more or less standard fabrics, being made of brown gritty

1. Mallowan (M. E. L.): *A.A.A.*, XX, Pl. XXXVI, nos. 18-20, etc.

2. Schaeffer (C.): *S.*, XV, p. 110, fig. 2.

3. *P.S.*—This class first appears stratified just below the early Cilician-Hittite levels, but its lower range is not yet determined. J. G., Nov. 1938.

clay, the former covered with a yellow slip with dark umber paint, the latter wet-smoothed with matt black paint.

The fragment no. 9 is different; the core is dark and gritty, the interior rough and red, and the exterior wet-smoothed only with a smeared whitish slip, and uneven bands of dull red paint. This specimen belongs to a class discussed below in the Neolithic series (cf. Pl. XXXI, 10). Fragment no. 10 is not altogether dissimilar but perhaps more smoothly finished; the clay is brown and gritty, the surface wet-smoothed and the paint matt black. No. 8 is also of brown gritty clay, the surface wet-smoothed but fairly rough and the paint matt red, dark in tone. Fragments of similar decorated pieces were found here and there all up the cutting as far as the *beton* above level 1, and these may have been displaced from a low level in the Chalcolithic series. The theme of decoration with parallel bands, wavy and irregular, occurs not infrequently in the Mesopotamian series. The dish form, no. 11, which is restored from fragments, is a welcome addition to the corpus. The clay is reddish buff with a slipped surface and the paint is dark red and matt. It came from a fairly reliable context in the inner and lower part of the cutting, and there is no reason to doubt its provenance.

The remaining fragments, nos. 12 to 17, illustrate the incidence of a new culture described below. The vertical chevrons on the jar neck no. 12, and the parallel bands of paint round the bowl no. 17, are as yet single specimens of their kind, and there is no further illustration of the curious decorative *motif* shown upon no. 15. It may be useful to record the details of these fabrics for reference in connexion with what follows.

- No. 12. Buff clay; yellow slip; red-brown paint; roughly made.
- 13. Brownish gritty clay; cream-yellow slip (smoothed); red-brown paint.
- 14. Brownish core, firing red; yellow-brown surface; rough dark umber paint.
- 15. Buff clay; yellow slip; rough red paint.
- 16. Orange clay; orange slip.
- 17. Buff clay; buff slip; dark red paint.

The Neolithic Deposits: Trench A

TRENCH A. As soon as it had become apparent that the very careful investigations required in the Section X would prevent our

reaching the lowest levels therein before the end of the season, we opened up again the small trench A in which tentative soundings had been made the previous year,¹ and it is from the development of this trench that further information about the lowest levels is derived. Its position is indicated on the Contour Plan (Pl. XIX). The area was cleaned and the trench widened, and though in rather confined space, the sounding was continued through 10 metres of depth down to water level, without, however, reaching the bottom of the deposit. The diagram on Pl. XX shows that this cutting traversed at least ten successive building periods with not less than fifty striations. These, however, consisted mostly of ash deposits and sweepings, and can hardly be called 'floors of occupation.'

As we worked downwards, stratification first became definite at the 10 m. level, which therefore marks the top of this fresh section. It should be noted that at approximately our 10 m. level in Section X (below layer *yd*²) an exceptionally heavy and extensive stone pavement (*z*) came to light in the inner part of that area, and the style of the pottery changed noticeably.² The wares decorated with patterns of matt black upon a burnished cream surface, typical of the Chalcolithic period, gave place to a red brown pottery decorated with dark red; while thin burnished pottery (black, brown and grey) began to make its appearance, together with other fabrics reminiscent of the series from the bottom of Trench A as dug in 1936. It was at this stage, with the clearing of layer *z* at level 9.50 m., that further work in Section X had to be suspended. It may be added that though Section X and Trench A were not superposed, they were not far apart. The striations tallied to within half a metre, a difference readily explained by the sloping of the ground. Moreover, the new style of pottery found at the bottom of Section X was exactly that of the 10.9 m. level in A, thus forming a culture link between the two.³ This evidence was supplemented by the finding at the bottom of X of a fine obsidian tool of the special type which distinguishes the deposits in Trench A.⁴ No metal had been found in X below the 12 m. level: flint and an increasing proportion of obsidian took its place; and this applies to the underlying levels in A, in which no metal objects were found and obsidian implements predominated. We are on safe ground therefore in recognising a change of culture at approximately the 10 m. level in both

1. As described in *Annals*, XXIV, with Pls. XIII and XIV.

2. Cf. Pl. XXXI, nos. 2 and 6.

3. Compare specimens, Pl. XXXI, nos. 1 and 2, also 6 and 10.

4. Cf. Pl. XXXIV.

the sections (X and A), and there is also reason to believe that the underlying culture deposits disclosed in Trench A extend below X and inside the mound.

These indications are timely and important; for this deposit is not only the deepest but more than 10 m. thick, as compared with 8 m. of the Cilician and Imperial Hittite and 3 m. of the Chalcolithic period. The culture is Neolithic, fresh in its *ensemble* and in some ways peculiar. Its features are illustrated by numerous small objects of bone and stone, flint blades, black and grey burnished pottery of simple shapes but advanced technique, with decorated wares in its upper layers; and it is distinguished by the free use and fine working of obsidian, which predominated over flint in the finished implements in the proportion of 10 to 1. The flint working of Judeideh (XIV) in Syria reflects the obsidian technique of this site, while the plain and burnished wares of Sakje Gözü I are comparable¹ with those found here. In both cases also the relation is borne out by their position below the traces of Mesopotamian Chalcolithic culture represented by the Tell Halaf-Samarra pottery. But with that the resemblance ceases: the special feature of this site is the evidence of a very long previous period of settlement and cultural activity. Clearly we are presented with a unique field of investigation, and it is gratifying to be able to say that Professor and Mrs. Miles Burkitt will join the Expedition next season to ensure the technical aspect of this part of our work. Meanwhile we present the following notes as a preliminary indication of the general character of this culture and the stratification of the deposits. Professor Burkitt's observations upon the lithic industry will be found below, and concludes this part of our preliminary report.

It will be useful, in the first place, to clarify our previous report on Trench A (*Annals*, XXIV) by equating the stratification of the specimens then discovered with the levels now established. The point at the head of the trench taken that year as the datum for registration purposes is now fixed at 11.50 m. As the stratification in Trench A is now found to be unreliable above the 10 m. level, all the objects figured on Pl. XIV (*Annals*, XXIV) must be regarded as probably unstratified,² as they fall between the datum of that year (11.50 m.) and 10.30 m. (The actual level of each object may be ascertained by subtracting the depth indi-

1. *Annals*, XXIV, p. 132.

2. The precise character of the deposits in the 11.10 m. is undefined.

cated from 11.50 m. ; thus object no. 31 on Pl. XIV marked as found at 'A-1.20 m.' may now be registered as coming from Trench A at level 10.30 m.) The objects figured on Pl. XIII (*Annals*, XXIV), on the other hand, are thus found to have come from between the 9.30 m. and 8.00 m. levels, and may therefore be regarded as stratified. The last figure (8 m.) also indicates the bottom of the soundings made in 1936. With these considerations we return to the work of 1937.

In the reworking of Trench A, registration began at the level of 10 m. and continued to 0.50 m. when cutting was flooded by the seeping in of river water. The trench was widened to 3 m., and as digging the previous year had stopped at level 8.50 m., the ground was all untouched below. Due allowance was made for possible disturbance and subsidence near the edge of the mound (which is here being undermined by the river), and for this reason the length of the stratified deposits was never more than 7 m., being at the bottom as little as 3 m. The different layers have not been numbered but are referred to by their levels in metres above zero datum in the stream. A section is shown on Pl. XX.

Throughout the cutting were encountered stone walls and well-defined pavements. At 5.50 m. there was a very deep deposit of white ash piling up and over a wall which was four or five courses high, and at 5.10 m. were traces of a mud brick wall. The lowest wall, found at 2.00 m., was substantially built of stones as much as 30 cms. broad ; under this was a layer of white ash, and two further lines of white ash appeared before the water level was reached. The trench was too small for the nature of the buildings to be revealed.

At every level were found implements of flint, obsidian and bone as well as pottery. These are described in some detail below in separate reports. It suffices, then, here to note that the number of painted wares from the upper levels (10.8 m.), as illustrated on Pls. XXX and XXXI, is small in proportion, since they were recovered only from the widening of the trench already excavated. Plain wares, black, grey and brown in surface, were also found, and these became more varied and more plentiful below the 8 m. level, where the painting of pottery was yet unknown. It is in fact below the level of the painted wares, between the fifth and seventh metre, that we discern the peak period of this Neolithic culture. Flint was rare, but the obsidian tools which constitute its special feature (Pl. XXXIII) were more abundant and more elaborate than before or afterwards. Below this pottery tended to be more simple though by no

means primitive, and continued without radical difference in technique until water level was reached. Burnishing was its special characteristic. Shapes were almost confined to single bowls or wide basins comparable with the Badarian vessels of Egypt. Some were decorated with incised patterns, mostly done by a rocker-tool, and surprisingly stylised. As already stated, water level was reached without any indication of the beginning of this culture.

Geologists inform us that the river now flows at a higher level than formerly, and is in fact now washing through the alluvium laid down by itself of old upon a Miocene bed ; and that, to judge by local indications, the bottom of the alluvium may perhaps be found about 8 to 10 feet below the bottom of our trench. Further deep investigations will be made if possible during the dry season ahead of us in the hope of throwing some light upon the beginnings of this culture.

THE NEOLITHIC POTTERY : TRENCH A

WITH PLATES XXX-XXXII

DECORATED WARES characteristic of the upper Neolithic deposits are illustrated on Pls. XXX and XXXI. These were found in stratified layers between metres 10 and 8 when widening Trench A, and supplement those already found in these levels in the previous season (*Annals*, XXIV, Pl. XIII). Their quantity is thus rather limited, but they are sufficiently representative ; and in order to illustrate the parallelism and cultural link with Section X, two fragments from the bottom of the latter are also included, and these are numbered respectively 2 and 6 on Pl. XXX. The former is comparable in form and design with no. 1 : while the latter, though but a fragment, is entirely similar in fabric and decoration to the vase no. 10. Further examples of the same style have already been seen on Pl. XXIX in illustration of the deepest pottery from Section X, notably nos. 12-15. Of these in particular, no. 13 is comparable in decorative treatment with no. 6 on Pl. XXX though the form is that of a bowl or open dish. The objects figured as from levels $y b^2-z$ may be regarded as corresponding to the 10 m. level in Trench A. It is also evident that what is found deeper in Trench A (and described below) may be taken as an index of similar deposits extending over the whole of this Neolithic field.

The pottery shown on Pl. XXX is mostly thin and burnished, and

the decoration is usually in matt dark red paint. The devices are all linear, and almost all based upon the chevron. The thin wares vary little in their texture. The clay is usually brown to orange-brown in colour, mixed with fine grits of flint or sand, fairly compact, and occasionally traversed by the fire-holes which indicate an admixture of straw or fibre which has now decayed. The thicker wares are much the same, though sometimes larger grits are used; and this applies also to most of the fragments illustrated on Pl. XXXI. There are, however, exceptions. Thus the clay of the vase-type no. 10, and the similar fragment no. 6, is of a grey-yellow shade; the slip is of the same, lightly burnished, and upon this background the dull red paint shows almost brightly. The clay of fragment no. 11 (the last) on Pl. XXX is dark grey and gritty, the warm yellow slip is unusually thick (presumably the result of dipping) and burnished inside and out. The red paint around the top on both sides is also burnished, but the lines of red paint which decorate the outside, between the chevrons and the border, are matt and may be seen to pass over the burnished surfaces. They were evidently laid on at a later stage, possibly after firing, as the paint tends to run in water.

With regard to fragment no. 10 on Pl. XXXI, this is of compact grey clay, well fired, covered with a burnished light brown slip, the paint dull brown. It should be noted, however, in this case, that the provenance is not certain, as the object was found in the surface debris of the trench; but as a similar device on a rough-faced yellow clay is found at the top of the stratified deposits (at 10·00/9·80 m.) it may be included tentatively in this category. There remains, however, a doubt; for a fabric similar in clay and decoration has been found at Tilki Tepe in the plain of Samiramalti, near Lake Van, by Mr. Reilly, who assures us that it occurs there above the Tell-Halaf wares. We must await therefore further light upon this point. Needless to say such painted wares are only a fractional element of the upper Neolithic series; the plain wares predominate and are described below. For the rest, a brief catalogue of the fabrics illustrated in these two Plates may prove useful. It should be borne in mind that these specimens are found at a relatively much deeper level than the earliest Tell-Halaf indications at 11·50 m. (X, *ya*) in Section X; and this seems to be borne out by such comparison as can be made with the pottery from the earliest stratum at Nineveh.¹ The shape of our

1. Mallowan in *Annals*, XX, Pl. XXXV.

standard jar neck (Pl. XXX, nos. 1 and 2), the vertical chevron (no. 9), the chevron intercepted by the rim (no. 2), and some of our incised patterns, find ready parallels among Mr. Mallowan's sherds from Ninevite I.¹

It is also to be noted that no precise borderline has been found in these soundings between the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic series. There is indeed some suggestion of continuity of culture in the jar forms (cf. nos. 1 and 2 on Pl. XXX and nos. 1, 2, 3 and 7 on Pl. XXIV), and particularly in the local fashion of painting vessels after they had been burnished. However, the fact that the Chalcolithic settlement seems to have been organised on different architectural lines, seems to argue against this suggestion, which further investigation may show to be due to the somewhat confused state of the extra-mural deposits at the point of contact in our preliminary section. The following details describe the fabric and decoration of the painted wares on Pls. XXX and XXXI.

Fabrics illustrated on Pl. XXX :

1. Grey to red sandy core ; brown burnished surface ; matt red paint.
2. " " " " " " " " " " "
3. Brown gritty ware, burnished ; matt red paint.
4. Sandy brown ware, wet-smoothed ; black paint.
5. Red brick ware, wet-smoothed ; matt red paint.
6. Brown ware ; red wet-smoothed surface ; red paint.
7. Grey core ; grey slip ; black paint.
8. Buff ware ; grey slip ; black paint.
9. Yellow-grey core ; white slip ; red paint.
10. Buff clay, yellowish-cream slip, matt red paint.
11. Grey gritty core ; thick yellow-brown slip ; red paint, also matt red paint applied at a later time.

Fabrics illustrated on Plate XXXI :

1. Brown gritty core ; brown wet-smoothed surface ; brown paint.
2. " " " " " " " matt red paint.
3. " " " rough red wet-smoothed surface ; red paint.
4. " " " brown wet-smoothed surface.
5. " " " yellow-brown wet-smoothed surface ; red-brown paint.

1. Cf. *Annals*, XX, Pl. XXXV, nos. 23, 19 and 6 respectively.

6. Brown gritty core ; brown wet-smoothed surface ; red paint.
7. „ „ coarse red slip ; red paint.
8. Grey-brown sandy core ; cream-yellow slip ; matt red paint.
9. Grey-buff core ; smoothed surface ; dark red paint.
10. Compact grey-buff core ; light brown burnished surface ; brown paint.

As seen from these descriptions, these wares tend to be brown in tone, with varying degrees of grit, and this applies to the specimens illustrated on Pl. XXX, which represent the finer fabrics. A wet-smoothed surface is commoner than a slip, especially on the coarse clays, and burnishing is relatively rare. The paint is generally matt and in most cases red ; exceptionally the specimens numbered 4, 7 and 8 on Pl. XXX have black paint, while nos. 1 and 10 on Pl. XXXI brown paint.

PLAIN WARES. (Pl. XXXII.) As the undecorated fragments from the stratified Neolithic levels in Trench A are numerous and all have been studied, it is possible to abridge our description by giving a preliminary classification of the wares they represent. The clay is nearly always mixed freely with grit or sand ; while mixture with straw or fibre is also apparent even as high as the 10 m. level, and may be traced all the way down, but it is not common enough to be deemed characteristic.

Coarse Wares :—

1. Pinky-yellow slip on grey core, smooth and sometimes burnished.
2. Like no. 1, thin, with scratchings outside.
3. Very thin, greyish-yellow, smoothed and light coloured.
4. Rough light yellow on grey core, firing red externally, inside half-rough.
5. Roughish grey ware, surface turning to brown, with scratchings around neck and on base.
6. Gritty grey ware, washed pinky-yellow shades varying inside and out, not smoothed as no. 1.
7. Salmon-pink slip on brown ware, burnished inside and out, showing dark diagonal lines possibly due to burnishing.

Fine Wares :—

8. Black surfaces tending to grey, burnished inside as well as outside, on grey or brown-grey core.

9. Chocolate surface on ware no. 8, sometimes with scratchings.

These two types are mostly thin, and are found sometimes wet-smoothed only.

10. Genuine chocolate on chocolate core, wet-smoothed and relatively thick.

11. Red exterior burnish on brown core, inside black.

12. Dull red slip on grey core, dark inside, and thicker than no. 11.

RANGE CHART OF THE PLAIN NEOLITHIC FABRICS OF TRENCH A

COARSE WARES							FINE WARES					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
10-8 m.	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x			
8-7-80 m.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7-60-7-40 m.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
7-30-7 m.	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
7-6 m.	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6-5-60 m.	x		x	x		x		x	x			x
5-60-5 m.	Warm brown and grey surfaces only.							x	x			x
4-50-0-50 m.	Occasional light brown wares.							x	x	x		

Notes on the fabrics and shapes at successive depths.

10-8 metres. The surface of the coarse wares of this level is generally washed rather than slipped with the final colour, though a slip is sometimes evident on the thicker wares. A particular class is finished with a brown slip upon a brown core, lightly burnished down to below the neck.

The rough light-coloured wares, light yellow, pinky-red and light brown are associated with the larger vessels, which mostly take the form of wide-mouthed jars with sloping shoulders (cf. 1, 3-6, Pl. XXXII).

The bases of these are flat, though rounding bases do occur among the coarse wares. The rims are frequently straight-up (as in no. 1), but sometimes long and on a gentle curve which commonly turns outwards (nos. 2-7) but sometimes tends inwards (*e.g.* no. 23)

The finer dark-coloured clays (fabrics 8 and 9) were used for the smaller vessels, which are nearly all bowls (cf. no. 15, Pl. XXXII). The ware is often thin and sometimes highly burnished, though instances do occur in which the surface is only wet-smoothed. Some examples combine the black, chocolate and grey colours on one and the same vessel. The bases of these bowls are mostly round or rounding (*e.g.* nos. 18 and 20), but the more open types are flat (cf. nos. 21 and 22). Semi-carination (*i.e.* a break in the contour) is also not infrequent, and mention should be made of a class of basin or open-mouthed cup, the shape of which is not clear. The flower-pot shape and decoration of Sakje Güzü is not present, but there is a vertical-sided basin (Pl. XXXI, nos. 17, 18, 20 and 21). Linear incisions have not been found, but scratchings perhaps suggest an attempt at such decoration. No handles appear.

8.00-7.00 *metres*. The fabrics on the whole remain standard as above though certain variations are noteworthy. Fabric 7 appears with a rough chocolate slip lightly burnished, and fabric 11 with a dull red surface. There is an example of a rough pink slip on fabric 1, and fabric 5 is found without scratchings. A brown ware from level 7.50 m. has a very light cream slip inside and out. Some of the fine dark wares, nos. 8 and 9, are very thin and highly burnished, and isolated specimens of red slipped ware burnished on both sides occur at level 7.90 m.

The shapes also show little change. Those of the coarse light-coloured wares tend to jug forms, and the burnished light-coloured wares to bowl shapes, usually on a larger scale than those made in the black, grey and chocolate wares. At level 7.20 m. a tall-necked jar of fabric 6 is noteworthy, with a flat spreading base and a rough cream surface blotched with pink and scratched; this ware is very thin. At the same level a bowl in fabric 11 has a poor slip burnished only around the top. The dark burnished wares follow the same bowl forms as described above, some with short rims, straight up, or slightly everted.

Handles are very rare, and the only type which can be safely accepted as belonging to the period is a small boss on a jug of rough yellow ware found at level 7.90 m. At level 7.50 m. there is an interesting attempt to make a loop handle (Pl. XXXII, no. 25). The ware of this jar is grey

with a rough warm yellow slip ; and in piercing the handle the side of the pot has been pushed inwards. As this is a unique instance and an intrusive handle was found nearly a metre lower, not too much credence should be placed on this piece of evidence which awaits confirmation.

7.00-5.60 *metres*. The wares are still standard. Fabric 6 is common, one example being a very large vertical jar-neck. This ware appears also with a brown wash, and one specimen of this seems to be the side of a basin. There is a rising neck in dull red pottery.¹ A fragment of scratched grey ware is noteworthy, and one of chocolate ware with three excised 'horse-shoe' marks.

5.60-0.50 *metres*. In the ash layers between levels 5.60 and 5.00 m. there is a marked change in the pottery. The wares show much less variety, the typical cream, yellow and pinky-yellow not being represented, and with them are absent the jar shapes with tall necks. The rough wares that appear are red-brown on a brown grey core, and scratched grey on the same fabric with a wet-smoothed interior, and these disappear below the 4.00 m. level. Below this, with the exception of occasional sherds of light brown or reddish burnished wares, which are thicker and partly fibrous, the fabrics are all dark : black, grey, dark brown or chocolate. A late form in the light brown ware occurs at 4.50 m., and a bowl at 5.30 m. has a black interior on a gritty brown core and is also burnished.

Of the typical dark wares, the black may be very thin but the grey and chocolate are rarely so. The black and grey are mostly burnished on the outside, though sometimes only wet-smoothed and the inside left half-rough. As these vessels are all very fragmentary it is not easy to restore their shapes, but the hole-mouthed bowl shape is well established (Pl. XXXII, nos. 33-35) as also are simple basins (Pl. XXXII, no. 36). The suggestion of carination seen above in no. 16 appears as low as level 3.10 m. (Pl. XXXII, no. 39). To judge from the rarity of flat bases in the black and grey wares, the hole-mouthed vessels in this class would seem to have been mostly globular in form, or, as one piece from level 3.10 m. testifies (no. 38), at the most to have had the curve of the vessel flattened at the bottom. Notable is a large bowl with a thickening rim from level 5.30 m., burnished black upon a gritty grey-black core, the inside being dead black.

The chocolate wares are also shaped as open basins, and burnished

1. One loop handle, mentioned above, was rejected as obviously intrusive.

both inside and out, at any rate above 3-10 m., and there is a specimen as low as 0.60 m. The bottoms of such vessels, unlike those of the black and grey wares, appear to be flat, though there are few examples.

Some of the grey or dark grey vessels turning inwards at the mouth are decorated with incised patterns, jagged, excised (Pl. XXXII, nos. 31 and 32) or done with a rocker.

On the whole, though simple in shape and technique, the pottery from the beginning is well made and illustrates a fully matured craft.

A NOTE ON A STONE AGE INDUSTRY OF PRE-TELL HALAF AGE

BY MILES BURKITT

WITH PLATE XXXIII

Professor Garstang has asked me to report on an extremely interesting industry which he has found at Mersin below levels containing pottery which can with certainty be assigned to the Tell-Halaf period. The industry is fashioned for the most part from black obsidian, and shows surprising skill in technique and manufacture. Associated with it are new pottery types which indicate that the potters had already acquired very considerable skill, and the whole complex introduces us to a very early culture—possibly as early as the sixth millennium?—which had not previously been recognised in this region. The nearest parallel site is that at Judeideh, where a somewhat similar stone industry has been unearthed which is being studied by Mrs. Payne. But though obsidian tools occur there, the implements are more often made from a fine grained chert. The fact of the general similarity is, however, important. The site at Judeideh, while not so far away, is not just next door! This early Mersin culture, then, is not a purely local phenomenon, but probably occurs over a fairly wide area.

The special pottery types are described elsewhere; here I am only concerned with the stone implements, and clearly the time has not yet arrived when a complete account of these can be given. It is hoped that this will be more possible after next season's work is completed. But any study must take account of (1) raw material, and (2) typology and technology.

MATERIAL. Obsidian is a natural volcanic glass belonging to the rhyolite family. These are the volcanic equivalents of the granites; in

other words, the rocks produced by the cooling and consolidation of a granite magma under volcanic, therefore extremely rapid, conditions. They are very acid in composition—that is to say they contain a good deal of free silica in the form of quartz. But above all the rapid cooling has almost inhibited crystal growth so that lumps of natural obsidian resemble lumps of artificial glass. When not coloured by some impurity in its composition a sheet of obsidian is perfectly transparent. Now obsidian is, technically speaking, a rock and not a mineral; its composition, therefore, varies to some extent, and this can be determined both by chemical and, in some cases, by optical analysis. Within certain limits the composition may even vary within the bounds of a single natural ‘field,’ and specimens collected on the margins might differ slightly from those taken from towards the centre. Such variations, however, might be expected to be less than the differences apparent between specimens from different obsidian fields. As these natural occurrences of the material are not common, it becomes of great interest to try and determine whence came the raw material used by so many cultures in the Near East for tool-making purposes. It will be necessary to analyse various natural specimens and compare these with analyses of implements from various sites. Should any definite results ensue, useful information as to the existence and direction of prehistoric trade routes, etc., may thus be deduced. Professor Garstang has identified a natural obsidian field in western Anatolia to the north of Mersin, and optical analysis conducted by Dr. F. C. Phillips of Cambridge University has already shown that the raw material both at Mersin itself and at Judeideh is identical with that found in this natural field. It remains to be seen whether the obsidian for the industries at a number of other sites also came from here.

TYPOLGY AND TECHNOLOGY. The tools found at Mersin show, as a rule, no weathering. They must, therefore, have been embedded fairly rapidly after being dropped or discarded. Throughout their manufacture a technique of pressure flaking has been employed for secondary working. Typologically they are fairly simple. They include: Blades, Awls, Scrapers, Lance-heads, Slugs, Sickle-blades, etc.

Blades. These number altogether some 200 specimens, of which the majority are long and narrow and skilfully struck off, but showing no secondary working, while about 50 have one or both edges more or less worked and occasionally the point is trimmed.

Awls. There are about 50 of these and they are all small, mostly neatly made on the ends of small blades the sides of which are more often unworked than worked. In two cases the little blades have awls at each end. Pl. XXXIII, 1, 2 and 3 are examples of these implements.

Scrapers. There are more than 50 of these, of which some 36 are end-scrapers made on trimmed or untrimmed blades, the remainder being of various kinds. (4 and 5.)

Slugs. There are only one or two specimens of these. One (6) is an almond-shaped object made on a flake, the upper rounded surface being covered with fine pressure flaking scars.

Lance-heads or portions thereof (7, 8 and 9). Of these there are at least 40 specimens, and they are, for the most part, especially beautifully made. The under surface is either wholly or partly a main flake surface, while the upper surface is much rounded in section and covered with fine pressure flaking scars, often of the 'fish scale' variety. Each specimen has a tang, also beautifully fashioned. These implements undoubtedly form the cream of the collection.

Sickle-blades (10). It is perhaps surprising that definite sickle-blades are not more common. There are, however, about 16 specimens, mostly made of a fine-grained chert similar to that used at Judeideh, which can be so described.

Various. There are, of course, also a quantity of indeterminate objects and rejected flakes, etc. See, for example, 11, 12 and 13.

Though the deposit has a depth of not less than ten metres, the industry as a whole shows little difference as one passes from the bottom to the top levels, though tools from the upper layers are on the whole the more finely made. The tools show great skill in workmanship: they are clearly made by folk who knew well how to deal with their rather refractory natural material. While the skilled 'Mersinite' could doubtless have made even one of the delightful lance-heads in a few minutes, many generations of workers must have preceded him to allow of the advanced development of the culture as a whole such as the finds of last year indicate. It would seem certain that earlier levels must exist either at Mersin or elsewhere where the earlier phases of this culture evolved, and these must seemingly go back in time to a period not far removed from that of the latest palaeolithic of western Europe. There is no doubt that

these pre-Tell-Halaf discoveries at Mersin must open a new chapter on the prehistory of the inhabitants of Cilicia—and probably not of Cilicia alone!

I am indebted to Miss Marshall, who worked at Mersin with Professor Garstang during last season, for the quantitative analysis of types embodied in this report.

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<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	. . .	Athenische Mittheilungen.
<i>B.S.A.</i>	. . .	British School (at Athens) Annual.
<i>Bel.</i>	. . .	Belleten. Türk Tarih Kurumu.
<i>C.V.A.</i>	. . .	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.
<i>Dacia</i>	. . .	Dacia.
<i>Iraq</i>	. . .	Iraq.
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<i>O.I.P.</i>	. . .	Oriental Institute of Chicago Publications.
<i>R.A.</i>	. . .	Revue Archéologique.
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<i>T.T.A.E.</i>	. . .	Türk Tarih Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi.
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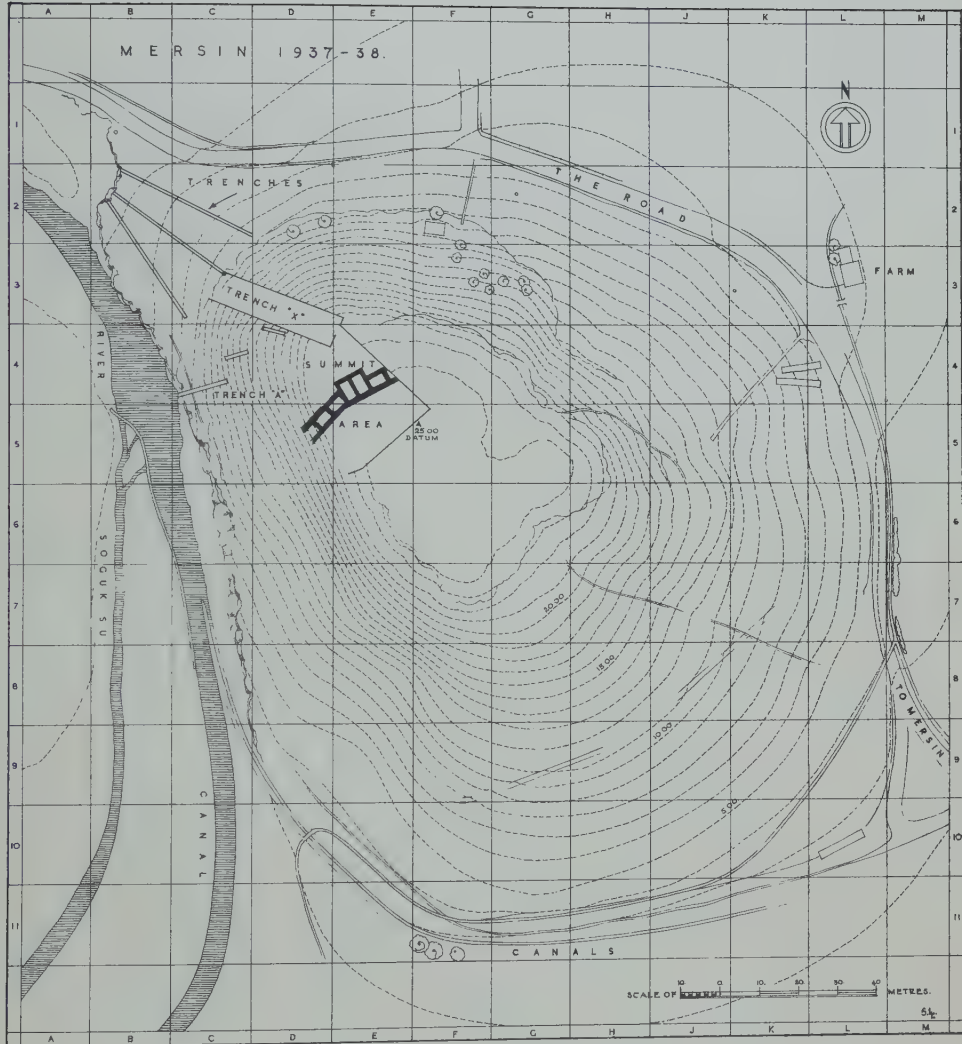
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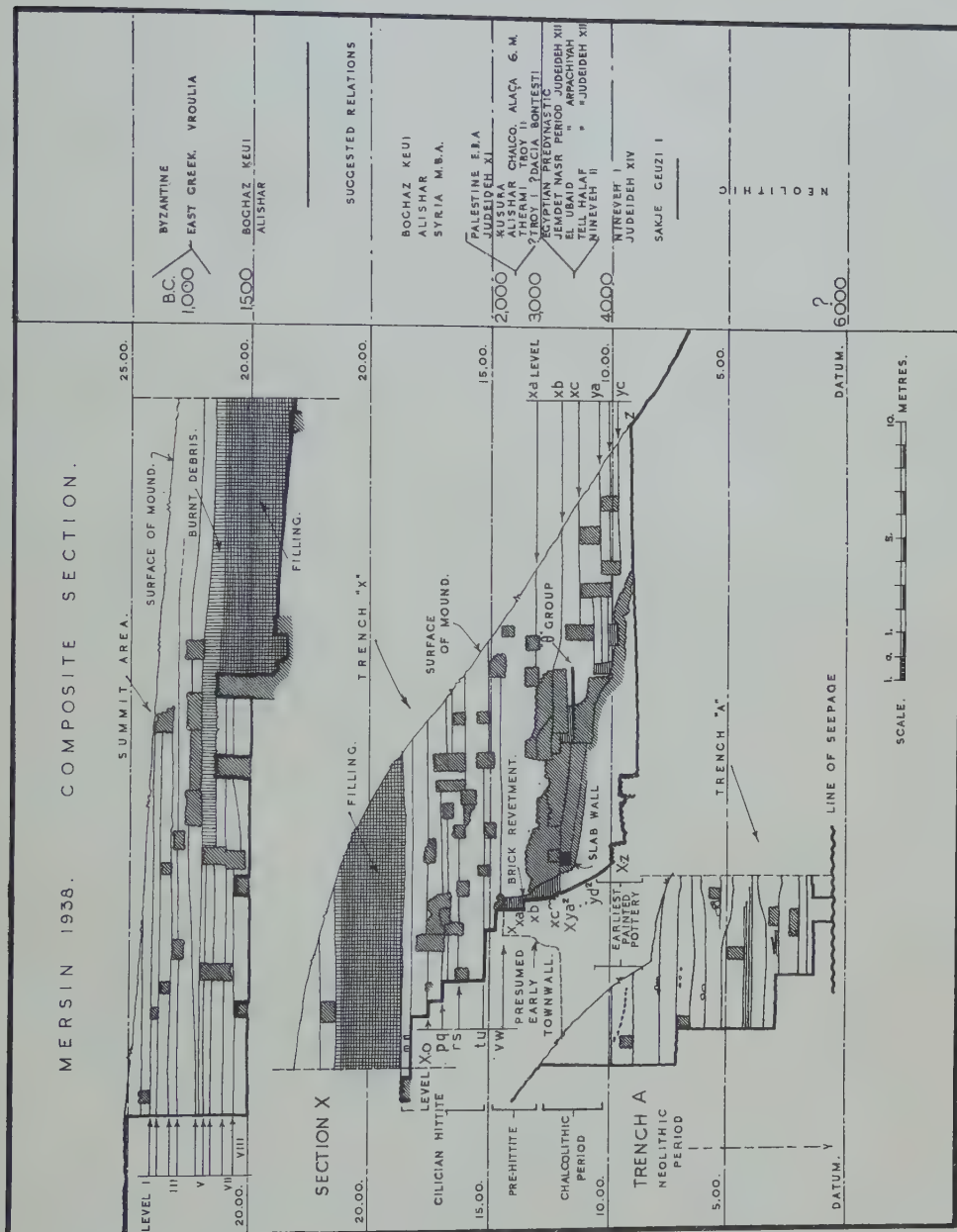
LAMB, WINIFRED (<i>T.L.</i>)	.	.	Thermi in Lesbos.
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			„ „ Arpachiyah (<i>Iraq</i> , II).
			„ „ „ (<i>A.A.A.</i> , 1933).
DE MORGAN	.	.	Les Premières Civilisations.
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(<i>Ur R.C.</i>)	.	.	Ur Excavations: The Royal Cemetery.



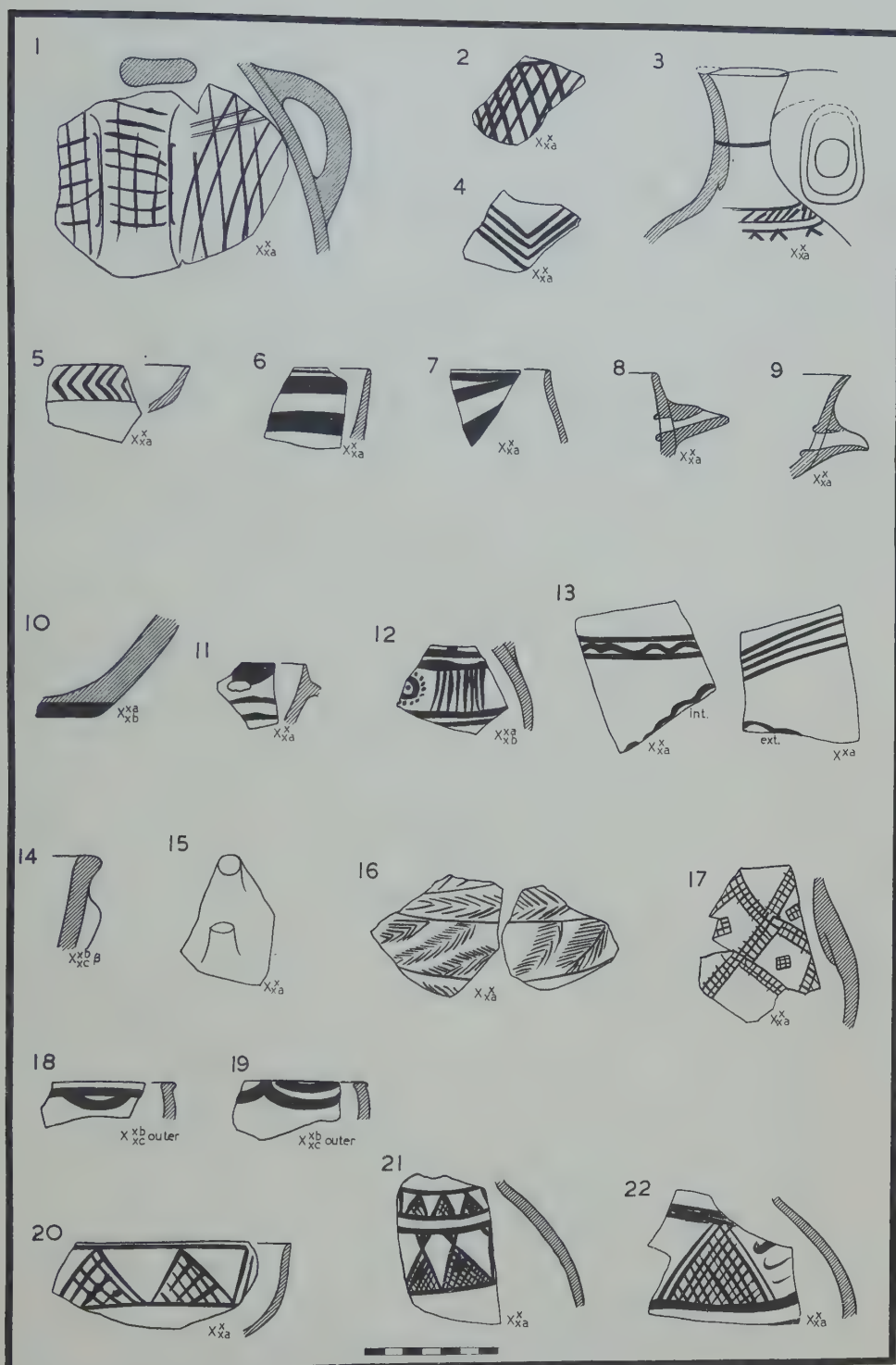
POSITION OF MERSIN AND SUGGESTED CULTURAL RELATIONS



CONTOURED PLAN OF MERSIN Höyük

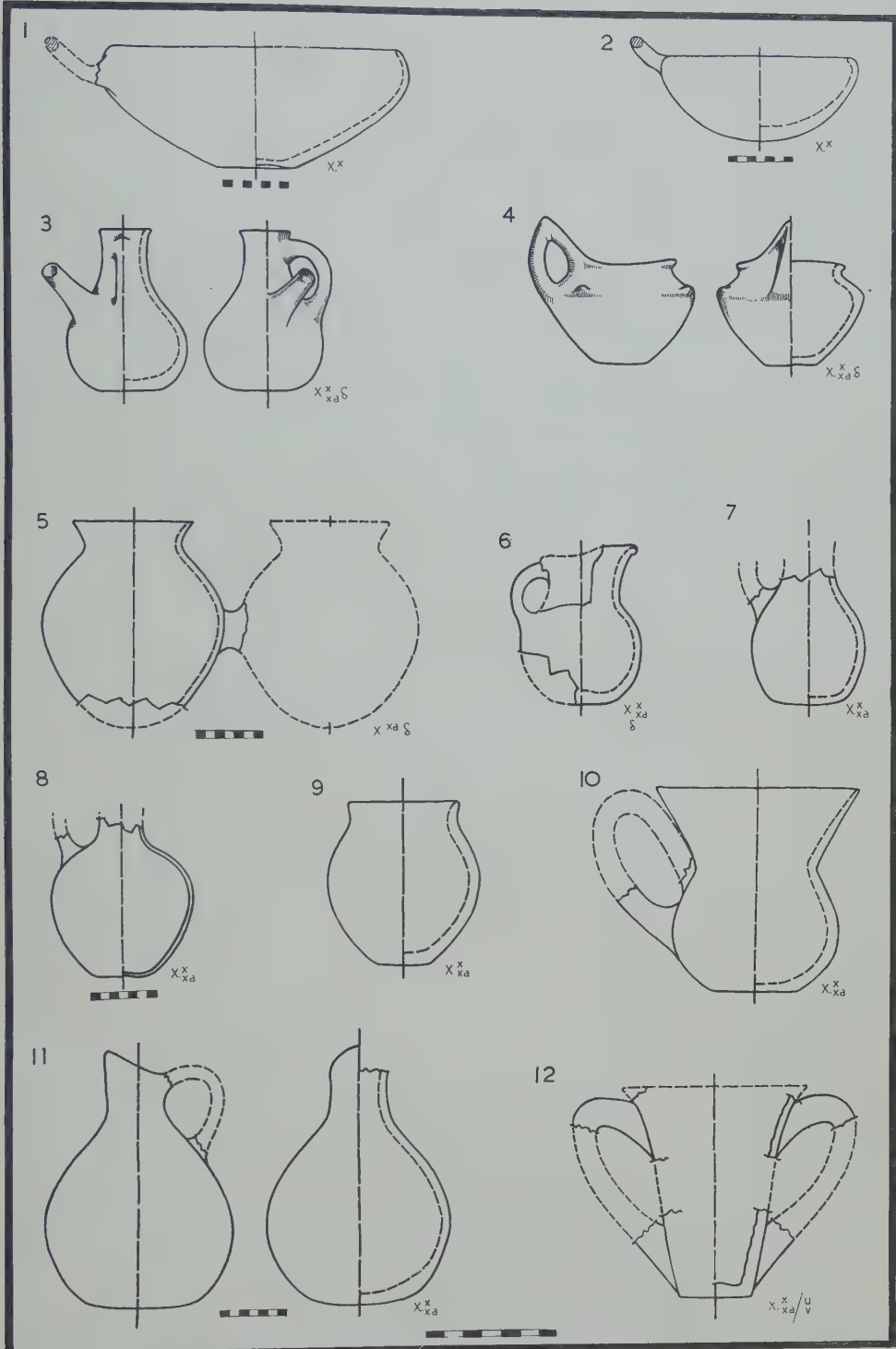


DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION DERIVED FROM THE MAIN SUMMIT AREA AND TRENCHES X AND A



MERSIN, TR. X., 1937

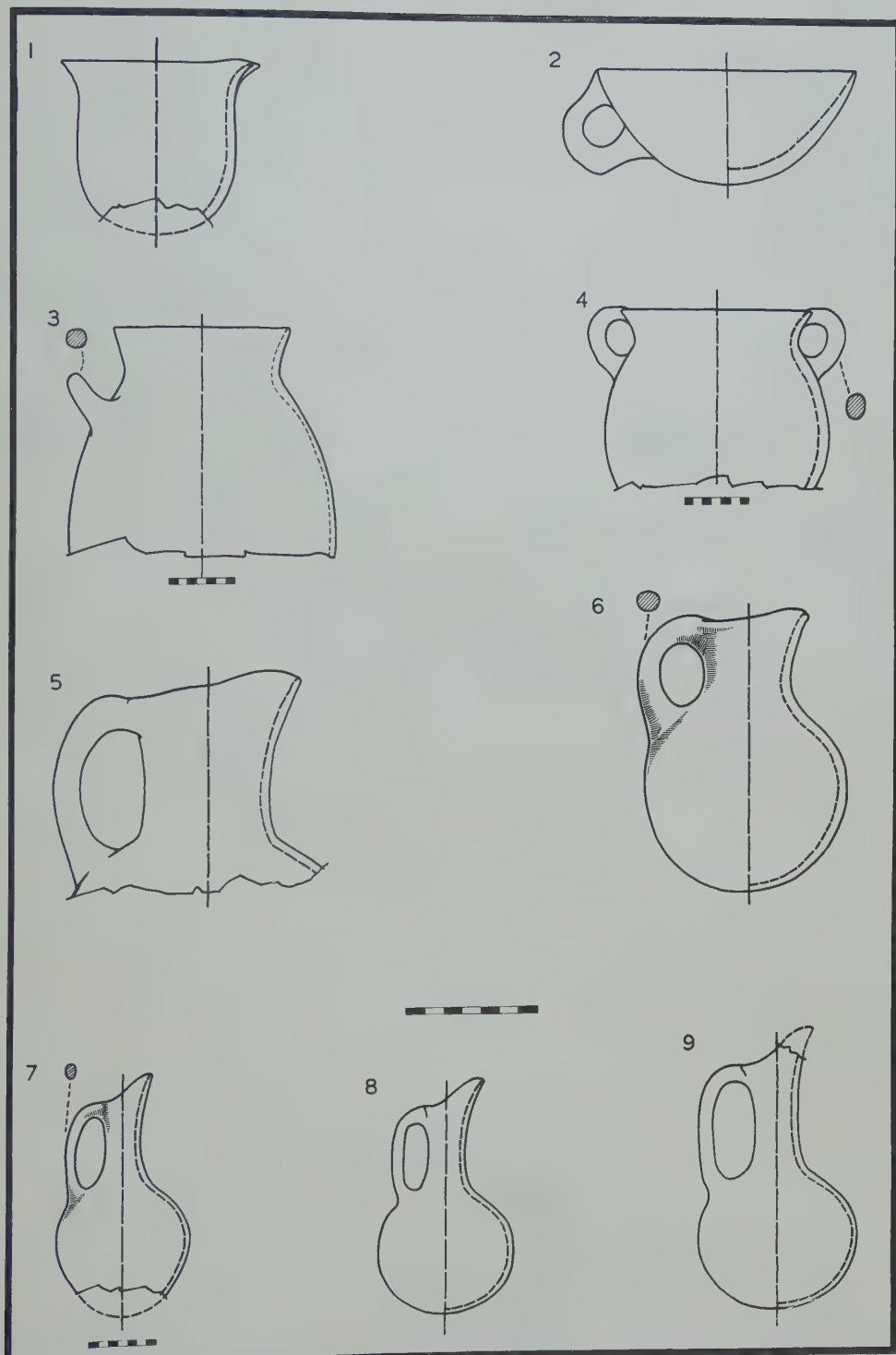
FRAGMENTS OF DECORATED POTTERY, ETC., FOUND BELOW THE CILICIAN-HITTITE LEVELS

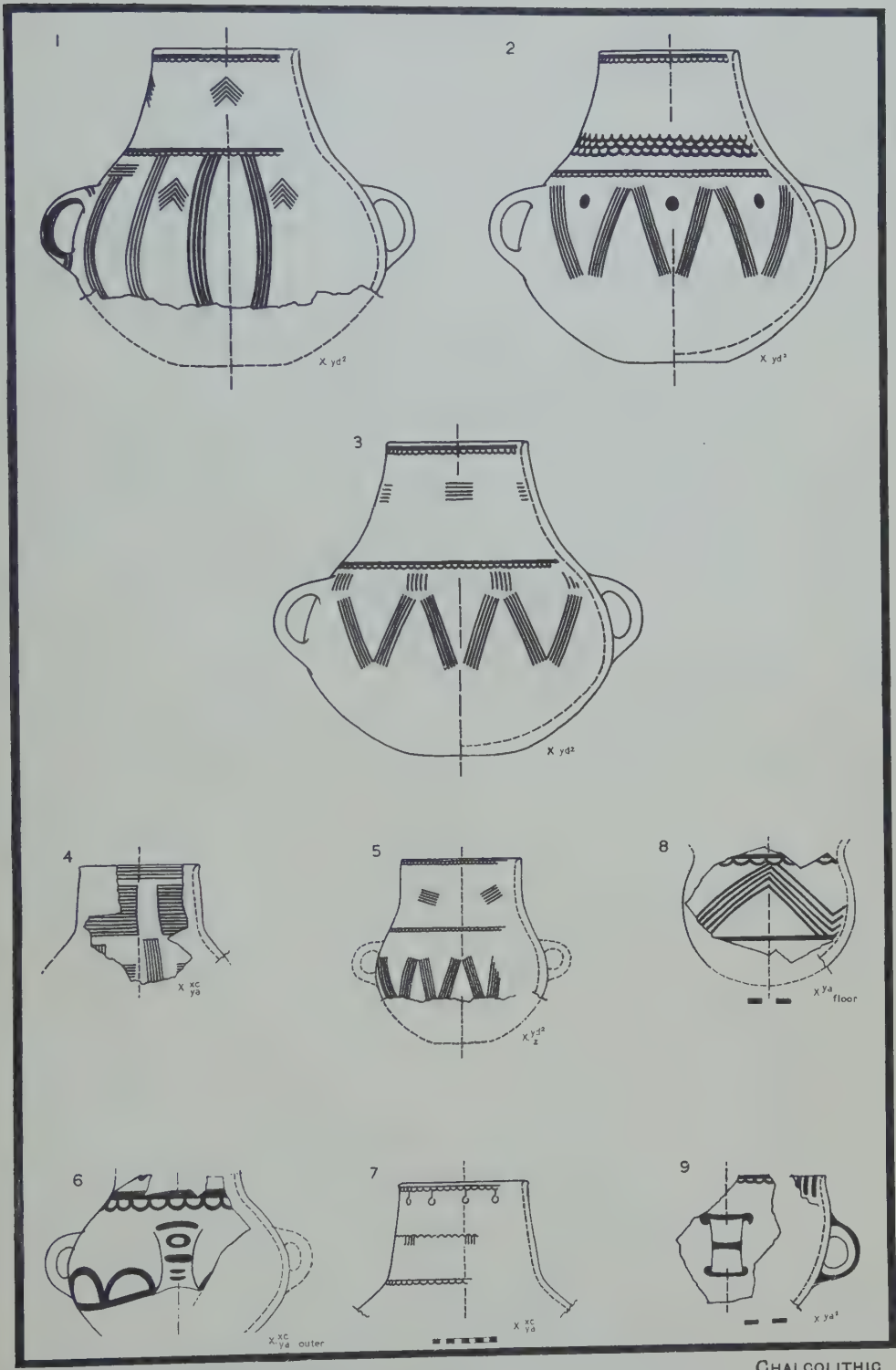


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SHAPES OF UNDECORATED POTTERY NOS. 3-6 GROUP S

PRE-HITTITE

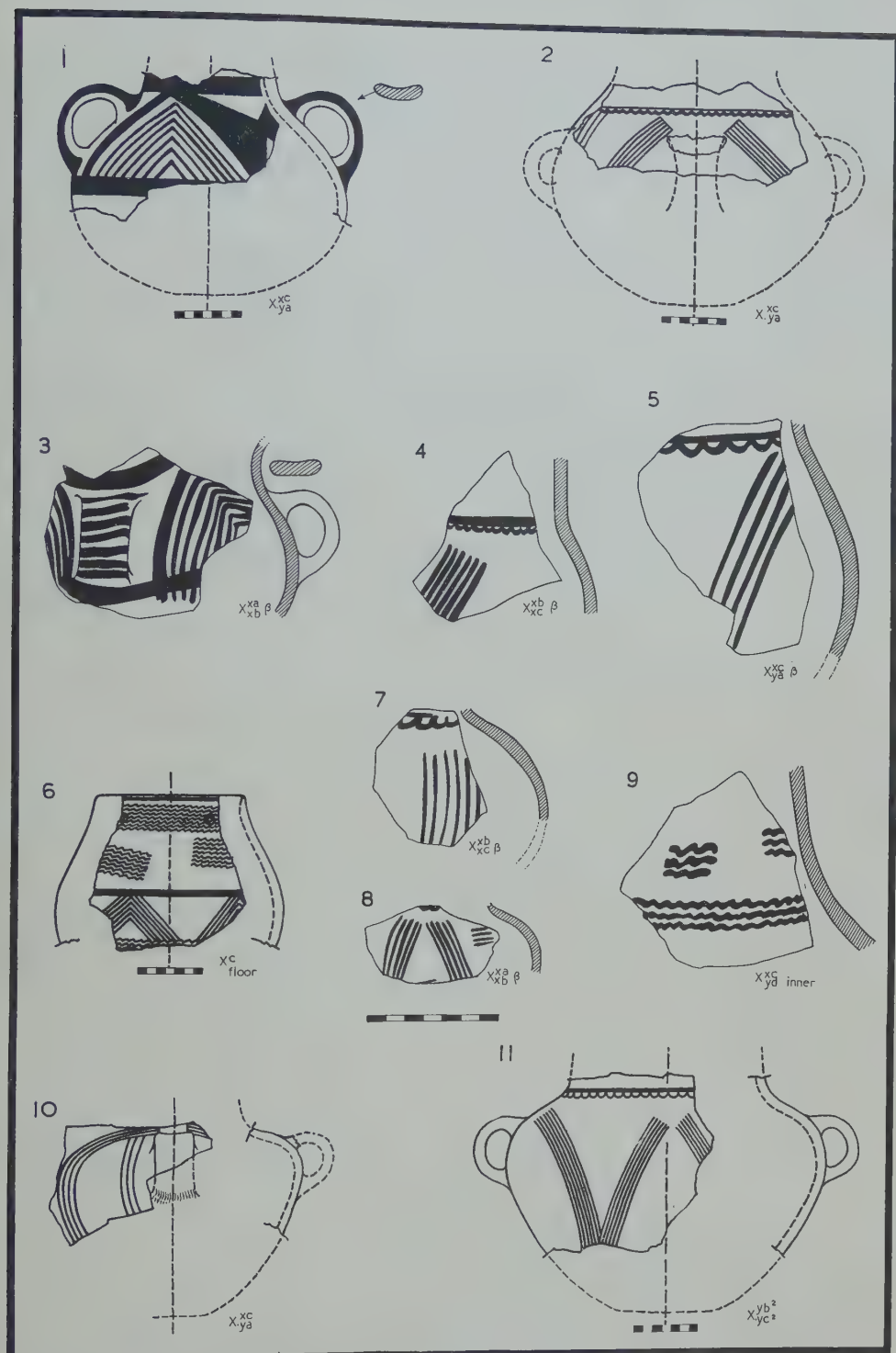


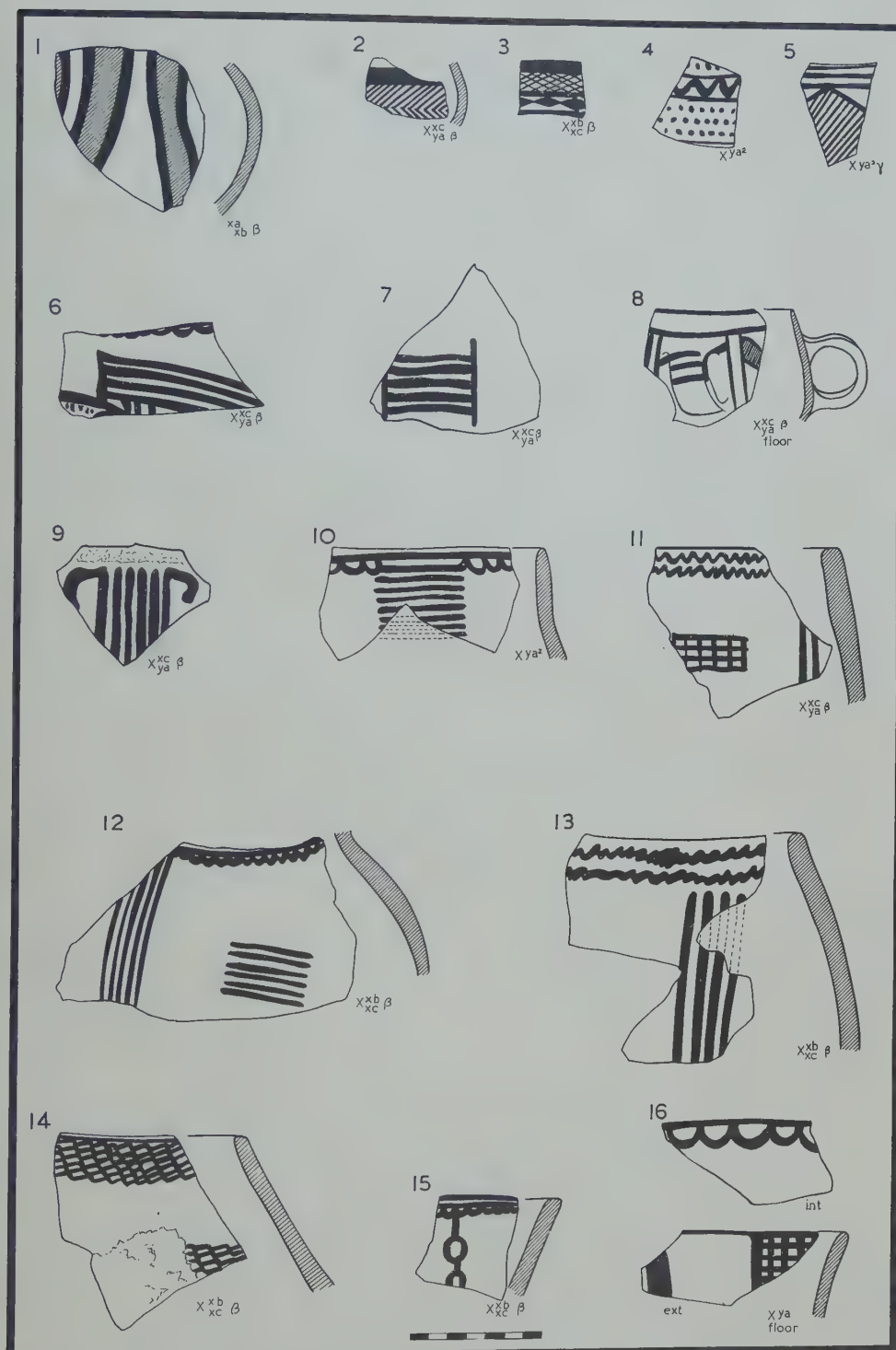


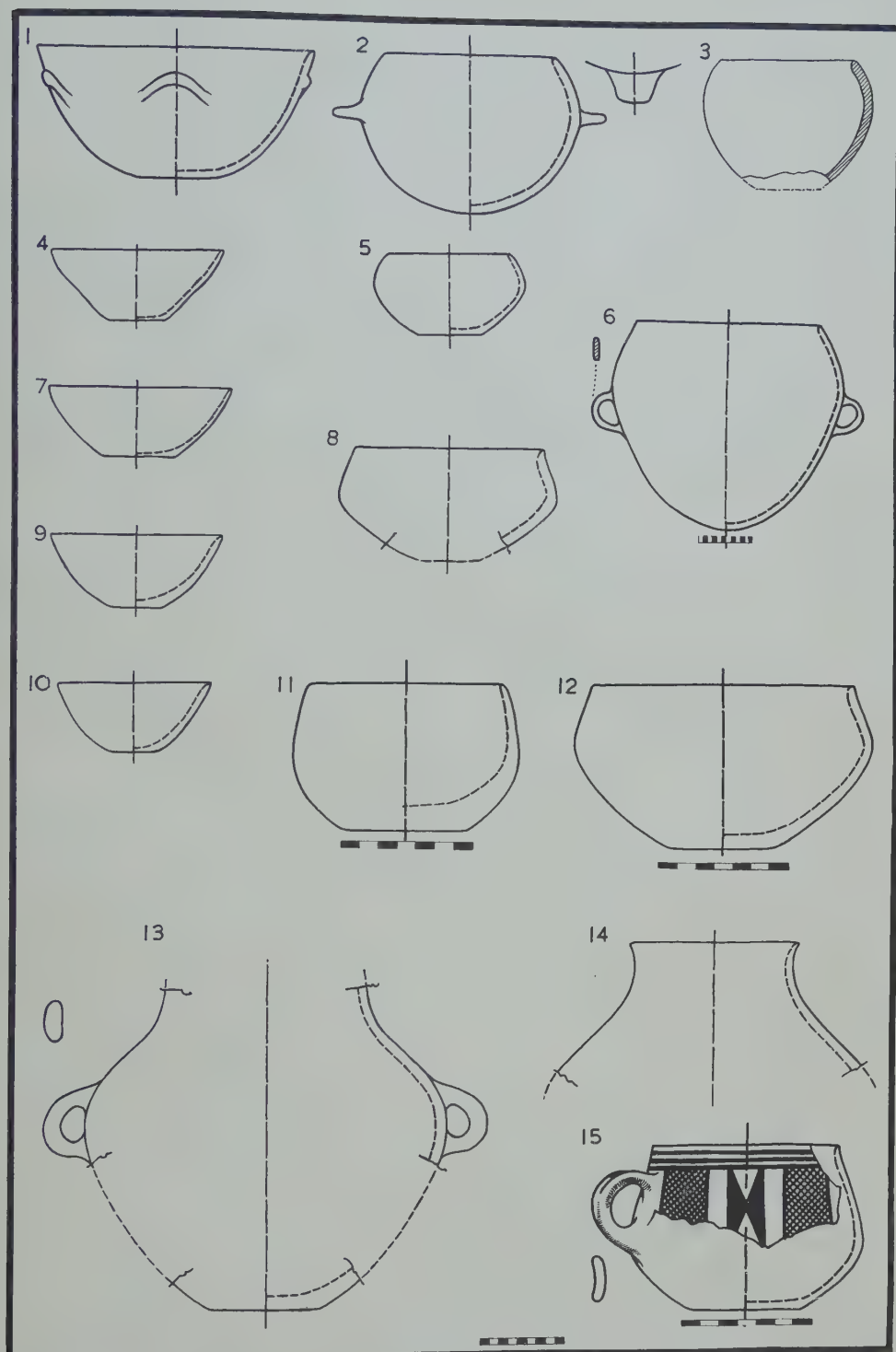
MERSIN, TR. X., 1937

THE CREAM-SLIP WARES. STANDARD SHAPES AND DECORATION

CHALCOLITHIC



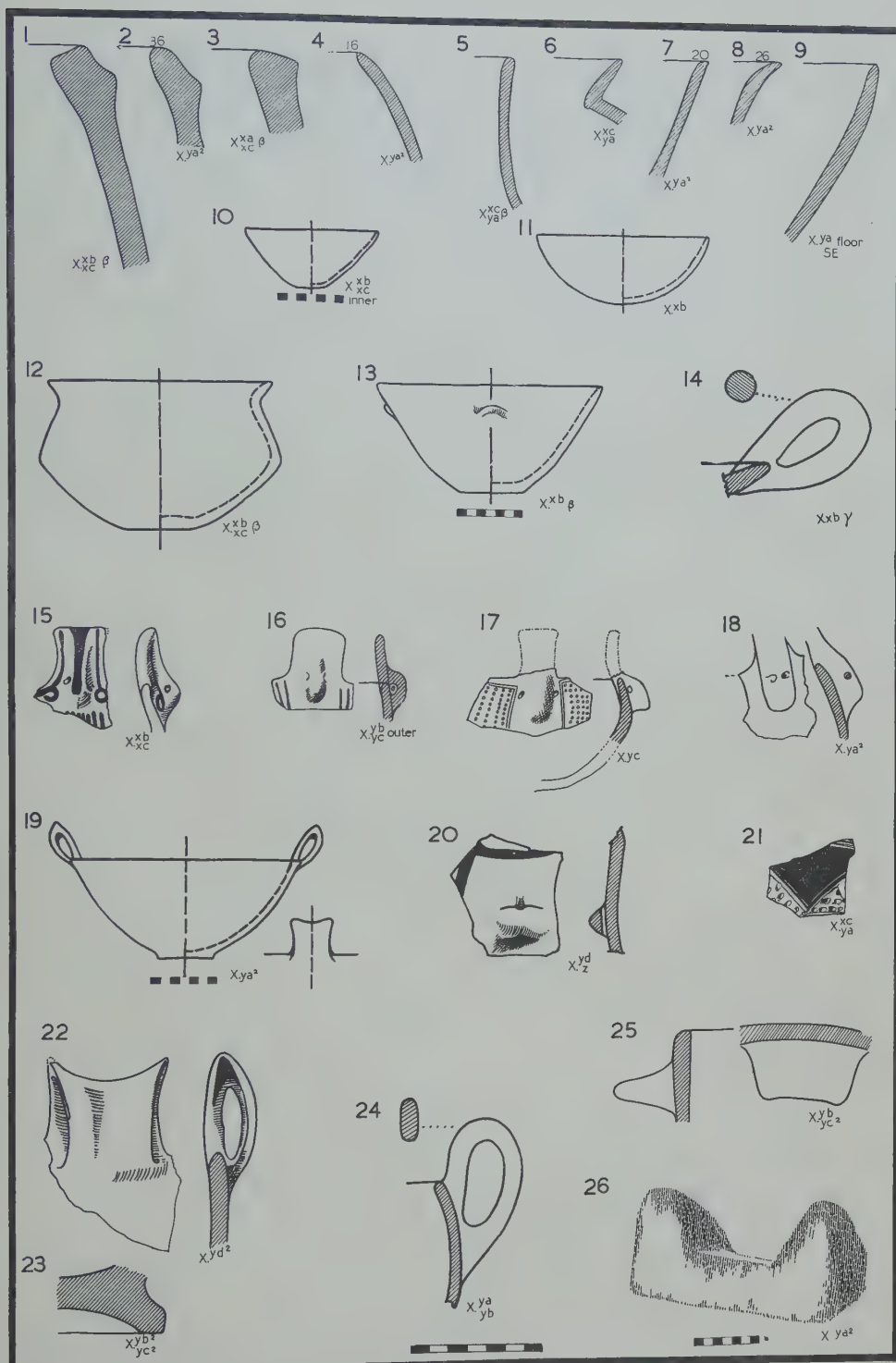




MERSIN, Tr. X., 1937

GROUP OF PLAIN WARES 9 FROM X. ya.

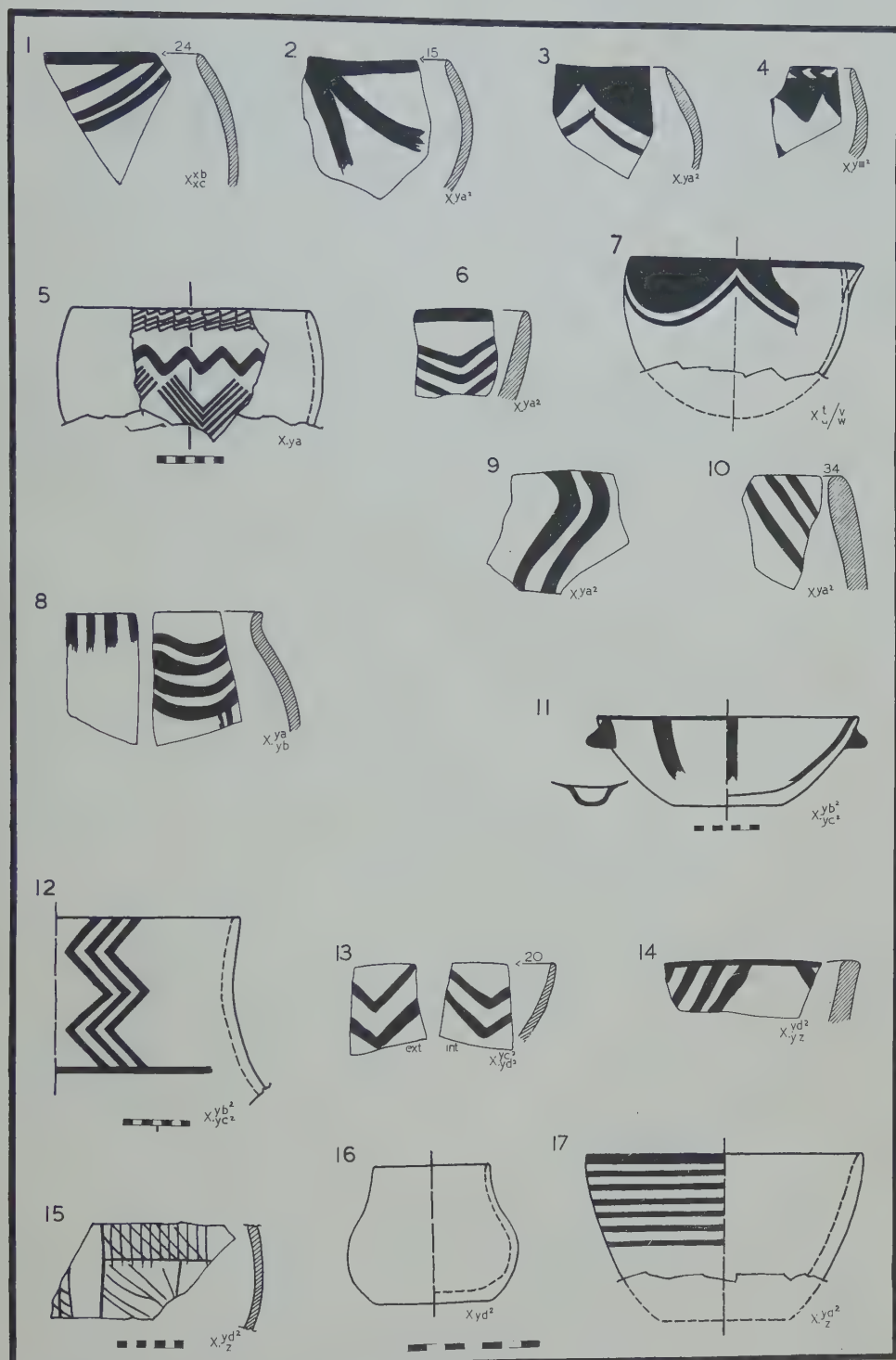
CHALCOLITHIC



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RIMS, HANDLES AND SPECIAL FEATURES

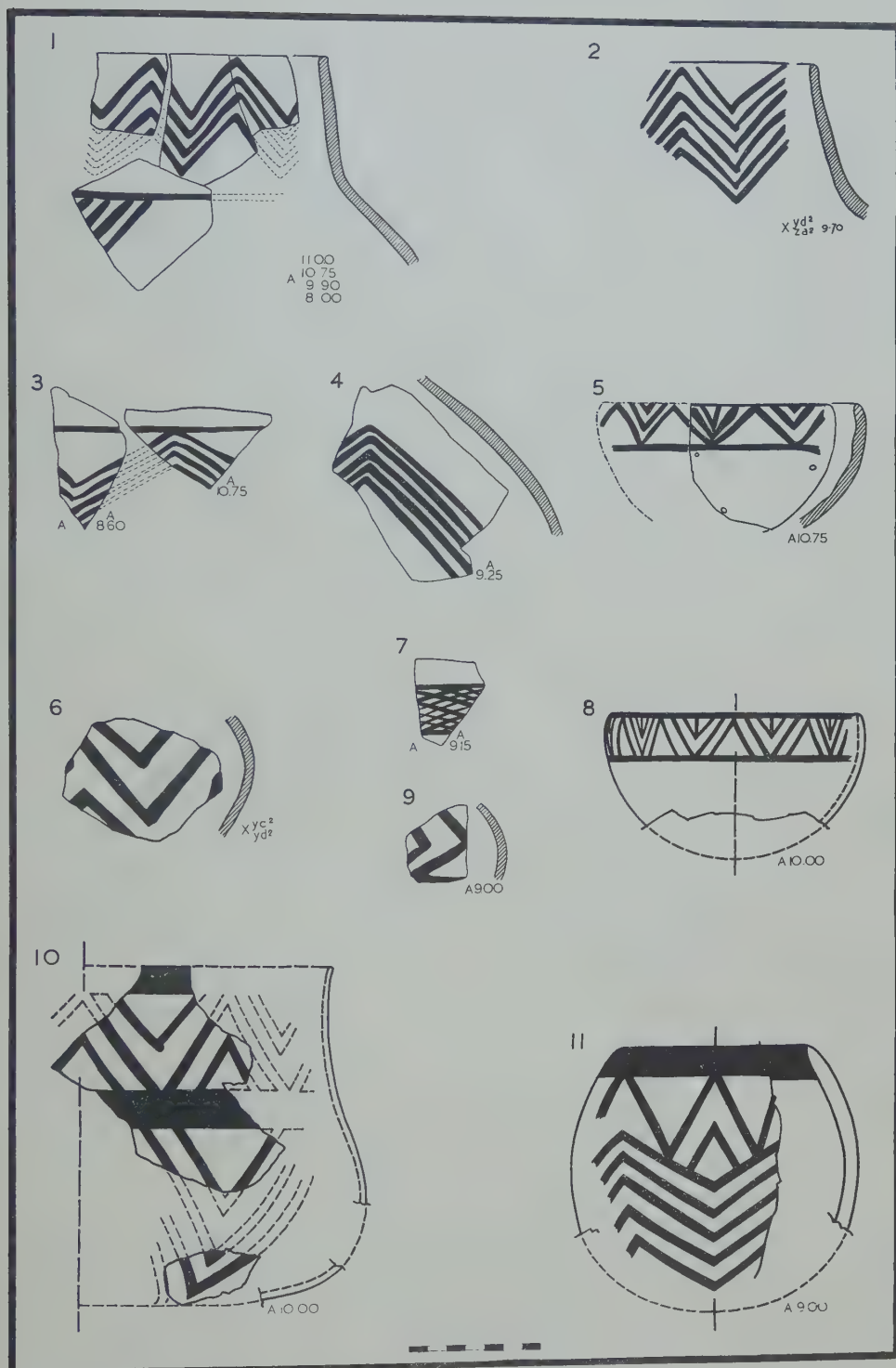
CHALCOLITHIC

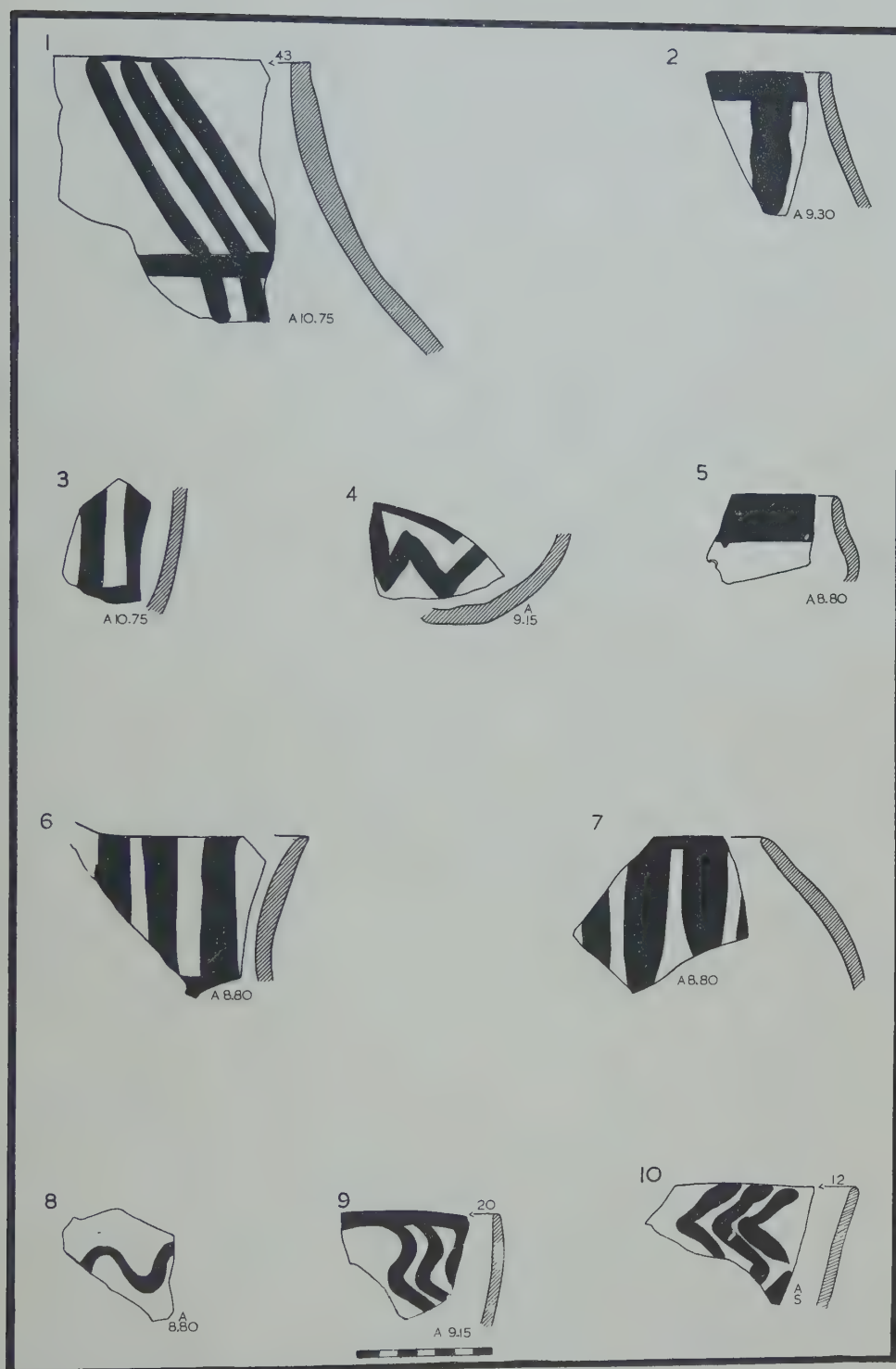


MERSIN, TR. X., 1937

1-11 DETAILS OF DECORATION
12-17 FROM THE LOWEST LEVELS

CHALCOLITHIC
POSSIBLY NEOLITHIC

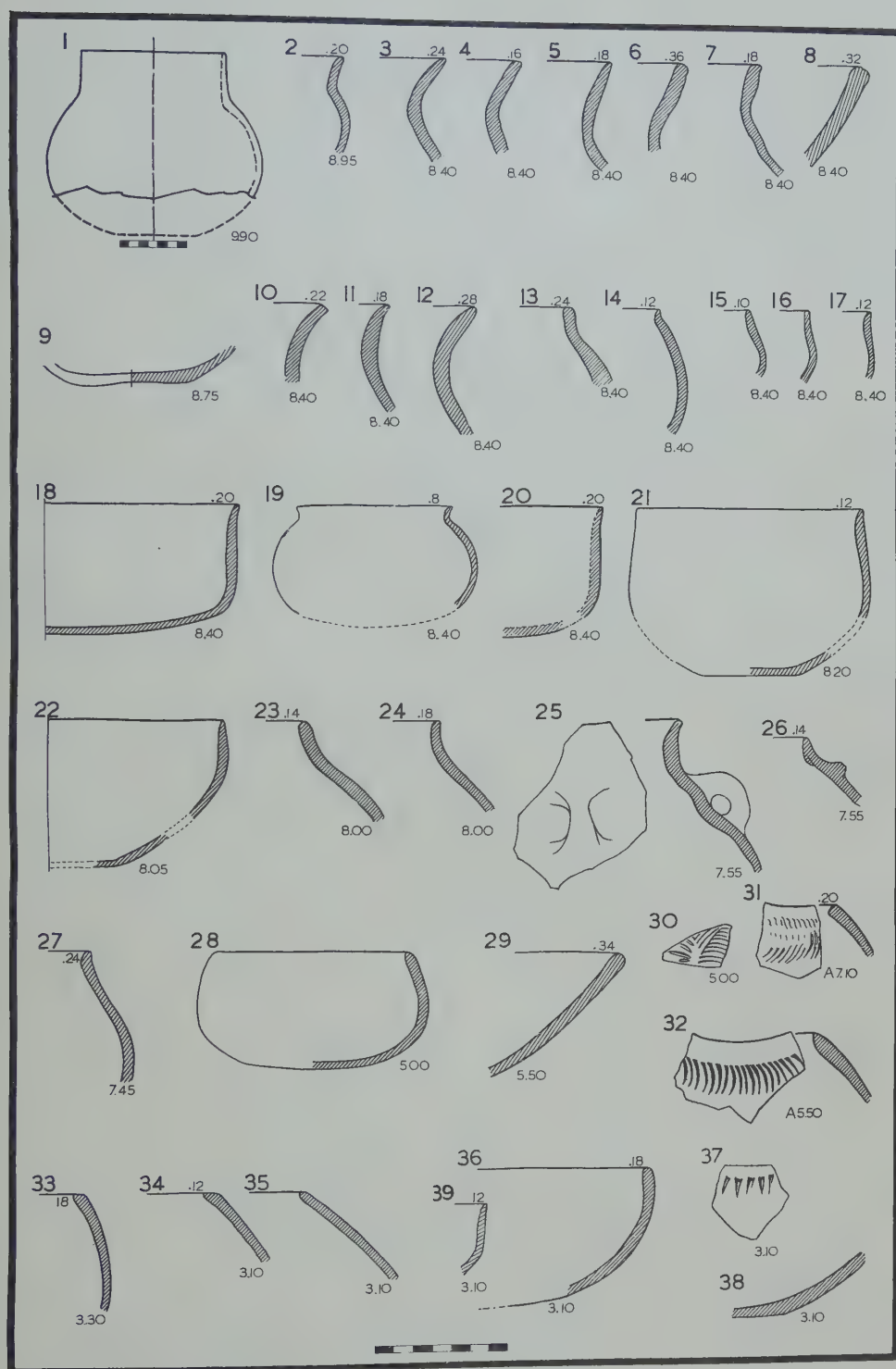


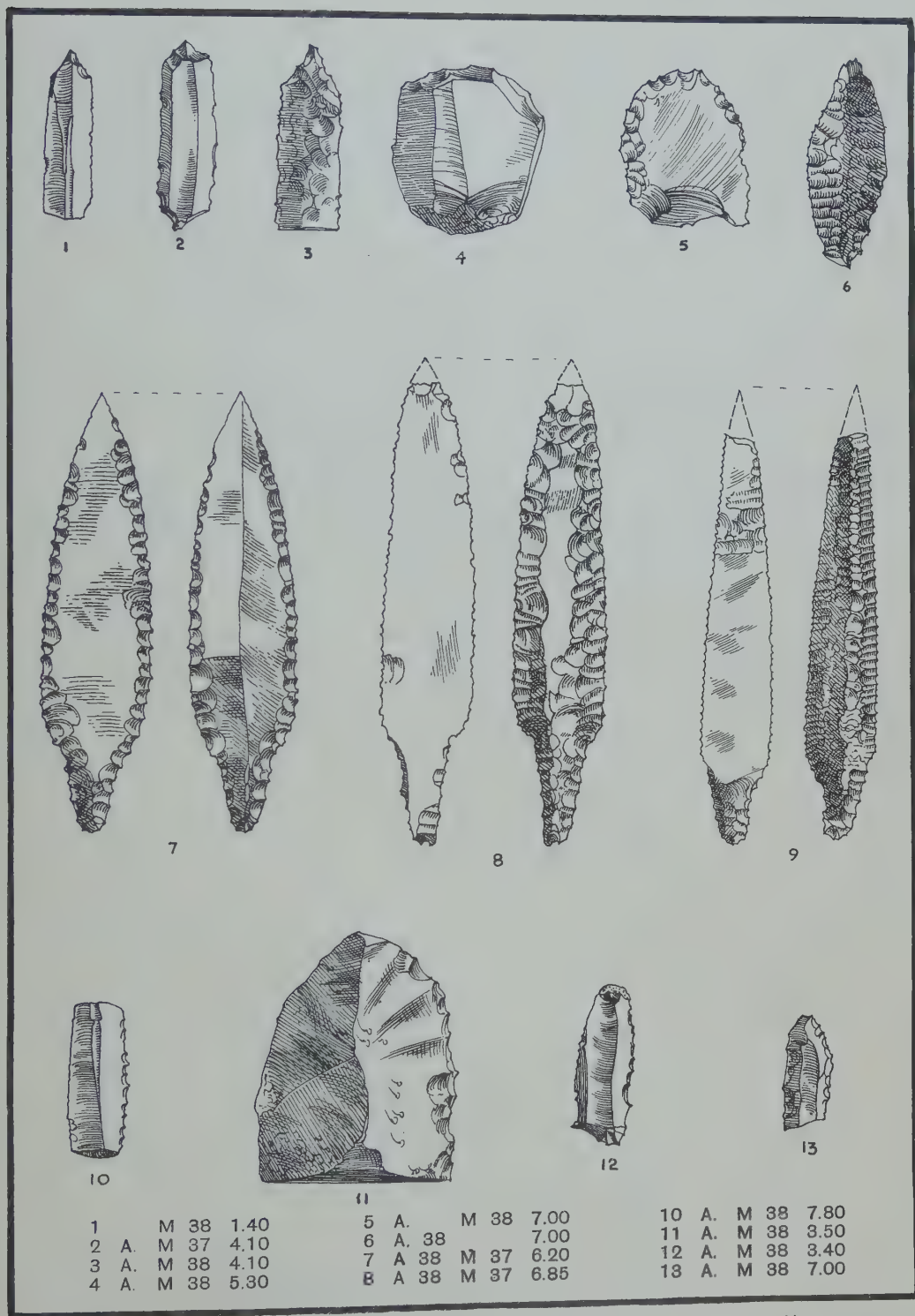


MERSIN, TR. A., 1937

COARSER PAINTED POTTERY FRAGMENTS

NEOLITHIC





MERSIN, TR. A.

EXAMPLES OF OBSIDIAN INDUSTRY

NEOLITHIC

THE RESTITUTION OF 'THE GOLDEN FISH'

('THEOCRITUS' XXI)

BY A. Y. CAMPBELL

PART II: ATTRIBUTION

By far the most conspicuous line of attack upon the authenticity of this poem is the linguistic; and these grounds are certainly not only the most numerous but the most substantial. A few of them, indeed, have no validity whatever; it is mere academic trifling to pretend that such words or forms as *μελεδώνη*, *φυκίοεις*, *μινύθειν*, *ἡρέμα* might not have been employed by anybody at all who aspired to produce a literary exercise in the metre established by Homer.¹ But the serious items (at the most) were (to recapitulate them) these:—9 *ἀθλήματα*, 18 *προσέναχε*, 21 *ῥρεθον*, 44 *τραφερῶν* 'fat,' all unexampled senses; 18 *θλιβομένην* 'confined, narrow,' 61 *λοιπόν* *quod restat*, both uses prosaic² and late; 45-9 *ἰχθῦα*, *ἰχθύιν*, see Pt. I; 33 *ἐστιν* enclitic, 47 *τῷ κιν*- no caesura. I hope I have now shown that if the poem is treated as any obviously defective text must be treated, and the nonsensical parts of it emended so as to make sense congruous with that of the patently rational parts, the whole of this linguistic argument merely disappears. Note that I have nowhere³ used the actual grounds of complaint as argument for the alteration of the words; on every count the case collapses for an independent reason.

The significance of this transformation appears all the greater, and its implication becomes more positive, when the fact emerges that the language as thus rationalised can often be illustrated partly from Theocritus himself, and partly from good usage such as this poet and man

1. Cholmeley even (with characteristic carelessness) adds *Ποσειδάωνι* as 'un-theocritean'—when it is in fact the *only* Theocritean form of the name, xxii 97 and 133.

2. In *Anth. Pal.* vii 472, 5, by Leonidas, the sense 'oppressed' is indicated for *θλιβ.* by the following *γὰρ*.

3. Except, inevitably, at 47; but observe that even there my sense provides a remedy where none is available otherwise.

of letters was likely to have known and renewed. Apart from points already mentioned *in my notes on the text* (Pt. I. pp. 36-42), observe the following :—

N.B.—Items within square brackets are reminders of certain (mainly) remarkable similarities *independent of my own emendations*.

1 ἀντομαθῆς cf. Eur. *fr.* 641, 3. [**3** cf. x 9.] [**8** ποτί ‘ist die Lieblingspräposition des Th.’—Wilamowitz *Textg. Buc.* p. 68 n. 1.] [**13** cf. xv 125.] **18** θλιβομένην ‘pressed,’ cf. xv 76. [**19** cf. vii 10; iii 41.] **21** ψιθυρᾶ . . . αὐδᾶ cf. ii 141, xxvii 66. **22** παντᾶ: for the correction cf. viii 41; the adverb nine times in Theocr. (but thrice, if this and all other suspected pieces are excluded). **25** for παθεῖν τι cf. iii 24, viii 10, x 1. **26** ἄπφα balances the φίλε of 22; cf. x 7 with 1. **32** τρόπον: x 37, xxiii 2. [**33** ροῦς: for the rhythm cf. xi 74 ἔχοις νῶν, xiv 21 δοκεῖς νῶν.] **34** σχολὰ ἄμμι: cf. Pl. *Prot.* 314 d οὐ σχολῇ αὐτῷ, Bion *fr.* xv 8 σχολὰ ἄμμιν (a piece surely reminiscent of our poem, see its 9 and 18). **35** for κῶμα cf. Theocr. *Erigr.* 3, 6. **45** κύων κάπρον: for this as characteristic quarry see e.g. *Il.* xi 324 f., xvii 725; with (cf. 42) δοκεῖν *Il.* viii 338-40; as proverb or illustration, Hor. *epod.* xii 4-6. (Nonnus v 232, cited by Briggs, may or may not have been based on our corrupt μαντεύεται, but is in any case *many* degrees less violent in expression.) **46** for νῆμα cf. xxiv 76, again as last word. **48** for κνώδαλον cf. xxiv 85, xxv 183. **54** for οἰκῆς cf. xxv 33. **59** for τὰ λοιπὰ cf. τὰ λοιπῶν v 13. **61** for αὐχὴν (common in Theocr., where, says Rumpel, ‘plerumque quarto hex. pede continetur’) as repository of θυμός cf. xxv 243 f.; for the idea underlying our phrase, *ibid.* 260 (with *Od.* xviii 240 and 237) and above all xvi 11; for another picturesque phrase with αὐχὴν, xxx 28; for such pungent expressions cf. xiv *passim*. For λοξός cf. xx 13; and at v 36, by the way, I read ὀμμασί πα (‘at all’) λοξοῖσι for ὀμμασι τοῖς ὀρθοῖσι, cf. 13 βασκαίνων. **66** for ἐτι πλ. cf. xv 141, xvi 72.

A point which the opposition had not detected¹ is that although ὕπνος is an extremely common word in the Theocritean corpus, it is nowhere used in the plural, except in this poem and here twice, 44 and 64. But now this anomaly also has vanished.

The three different accs. of ἰχθύς are now reduced to one, and that the normal.

It is true that I have been compelled in the pursuit of sense to introduce words not to be found in the other poems of Theocritus. But some of these are good epic ‘and/or’ lyric, e.g. μέλεος, ἄλιος; all are good and elegant Greek, e.g. θηρῶ, κρότος (κροτέω, xviii 35), σπῶ, σταθερός, ἀκάτιον, πισσῶ; while two or three, say ἄθυρμα, μακύνω in middle (cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi 171, a well-written piece—we have only to read ἄψαν μόνον in line 5), and χείρισμα,

1. This objection is not unanswerable as regards 44 (prepositional; see, however, ii 108), but it is, to say the least, as good as many of the other objections.

are in themselves or their present use peculiar and choice. And all these three types of *otherwise non-Th.* word, and above all *that last type*, are wholly consistent with Theocritean authorship. Th. has not ἀφ' αὐτοῦ but he has its adj. 5 (or 4) times.

In his n. on 30 Brinker stigmatises some 7 asyndeta (he might have added line 66), and my text can give him 5 of these and 2 different ones to make up. He says that this is 'contra usum Theocriteum.' The truth is the opposite; Th. constantly resorts to asyndeton for the sake of force; a good example is xvii 9. But what is most noteworthy here, in view of my comparison below, is that in this respect xxi offers a marked resemblance to xiv, and that *this resemblance extends* to a phenomenon associated (to some extent in Greek generally, but) particularly in Th. with asyndeton itself, namely the presence of proverbial expressions or instances, and of pungent picturesque phrases; the united effect is terseness, for Th. like Callimachus aimed thereat. Cf. generally xiv 9, 17 (Wordsworth and others), 23, 24, 39, 41, 44, 47, 51, 68; and xv *passim*.

Incidentally, look at the last word in each of lines 1-5; as a series they give the antithetic balance *a b a b a*; this shows the sensitive writer.

This juncture affords a convenient opportunity for setting aside the argument of Ahrens (cf. Pt. I, pp. 24-5). He leaves as a loophole (*l.c.* p. 599) the possibility of producing strong internal evidence; and overwhelming internal evidence is what I regard myself as being about to produce. Yet even on its positive side his reasoning is very far from cogent. He finds that certain eight pieces represent an ancient collection of odd pastoral poems, which collection became attached to the Thn. corpus; six are 'certainly or as good as certainly not Th.'; therefore the remaining two (xxi and xxiii), whose internal evidence is not so clearly adverse, were probably in fact just as spurious. But if two items or even one of any such collection were genuine, that is just what would be most likely to lead to the attachment of the entire collection.

After the linguistic, the most prominent indictment is the moral. This poem has been pronounced too moral for a poet so pastoral and erotic, so pleasing, fresh, and forceful as Theocritus. Wilamowitz begins and ends his criticism with the same shibboleth; 'die Fischer fallen dadurch [*italics mine*] aus der ganzen Bukolik heraus, dass sie eine moralisierende Tendenz haben'; and 'am interessantesten ist es als Parallele zu den moralisierenden Erzählungen der römischen Satire.' Similarly, twenty-two years earlier, Brinker, *l.c.* p. 45; but the source of all this is Fritzsche, *Argumentum*, in 1870 ed.

Consider the mentality—in their rôle at least of literary critic—of the

mover and seconder of this resolution. They begin with the following argument (stated by Fritzsche, expressly adopted word for word by Brinker) :—‘*amoris in hoc carmine nulla omnino mentio fit, quum sit nullum a Theocrito scriptum carmen pastorale, nullum mimicum, nullum lyricum, in quo non meminerit partes quasdam esse amoris.*’ Poor Theocritus! imagine his position. He has after much heart-searching reflected that although his category is pastoral-erotic he had already, if but barely, transgressed from the pastoral to the piscatorial in the (exquisite) vignette i 39-44 and the reference iii 26; and he has therefore permitted himself to write a poem about two old fishermen. Alas, a serious hitch; old fishermen do not talk about love, but (like these two) about seasons, catches, big fish, profits, their dinner, superstitions; *he will no longer be Theocritus* if he cannot force into his projected seascape some kind of reference to love. So with a sigh he passes on the subject to Leonidas or another. Am I suggesting that this argument is grotesque and silly? Why, it does not even apply! In the words of our poem (line 66), *if you would search these places awake instead of asleep*, you would find that this poem also contains a reference to love, marked by the commonest of all Greek verbs for that experience.

What, *per contra*, they do find in the poem is what Brinker surprisingly¹ describes in these terms: ‘*toti carmini subest moralis quaedam vis*’; but what Fritzsche had more accurately designated as a moral at the conclusion. Now here, certainly, is a point of the highest relevance. And it is worth while to observe the flimsiness of the foundations upon which fashionable opinion is so often built. This moralising type of conclusion has clear parallels, as close as could be expected in any poet who did not feebly repeat himself, in Theocr. x and xiv (not to mention, by ancient notions, xi and xvi). That is why Brinker has to pretend that our *entire* poem is moral (a statement which would be less false even of x). The moral in x, xi (cf. x, 22 f., etc.), and xiv, though general in application, is particular as regards occasion; this is true also of our poem, so Brinker has to say that it is not. Fritzsche’s indictment is too cumbrous, wordy, and inconsequent to refute within reasonable space; but he sets out to prove that whereas the effect of Theocritus is to charm and not to edify, that of this writer is the opposite in both respects; and

1. It will depend on what you mean by *vis moralis*; and it is amusing to note that Fritzsche’s complaint virtually resolves itself into the opposite; what he misses in the *dialogue* is the Theocritean *morum notatio*.

he does so by the simple process of remaining blind to the imaginative, humorous, and humane aspects of this composition; aided thereto, I should be the last to deny, by the corruptness of the text. As for Wilamowitz's point of contact with Roman satire, that, even if it were more 'interesting' (as it would be if it were closer¹ or more peculiar), proves nothing; a moralising passage bearing a much more positive resemblance² to Roman satire is Theocr. xvi 22-23, cf. 64-7. Such features are simply reflections of the Hellenistic age.

This moral factor is in truth considerably more significant for the problem than any of those three scholars saw; but like all other factors it has to be studied carefully and in just relation to other data. And that brings me to my own analysis of this idyll as a product of poetic art.

Reflect first upon Theocr. x, a poem the more characteristic because it represents our author at his best. Its core is 24-37, the rustic love-song which the simple and gentle farm-hand is half-ironically induced by his more robust fellow-labourer to sing in praise of his rather sun-browned and none too plump inamorata. The reader is obviously intended to smile with the poet at the fervent virtuosity and naïve hyperboles of the peasant. For all that this song is one of the most perfect things in literature; uniquely beautiful, and without a false touch from the first word to the last. But even apart from the song itself, its author has done everything for it. He has taken elaborate pains to give his gem the full advantage of a setting which throws it up by force of contrast. The bantering introduction makes the rich sweet music surprise both heart and ear; while the angry scorn of Milon's sarcastic praise which follows, apparently indicating no little jealousy, makes the love-song echo all the more bewitchingly in retrospect through this sudden modulation to a harsher note. Then the abruptness of that *θᾶσαι δὴ* with which he introduces his own rival and very different harmonies, and the *Song of the Field-Labourer* itself with its bold and hearty plunge into the invocation *Δάματερ πολύκαρπε πολύσταχυ*—for this also is fine poetry of its kind, and there are more modes, as there are more loyalties, than one; all that, and much else herein, is evidence of the most cunning literary craftsmanship, and may serve to remind us, for present purposes, that *the illumination of an antithesis* is, you might say, the object in

1. Our moral is not deduced from the narrative, but is in it; and I here suggest (in two places) that it is something more than a moral.

2. On this (and further) cf. my *Horace, A New Interpretation*, p. 259.

greater or less degree of almost every Greek poem. But although the moral, that a fellow must not be a John-a-Dreams but must be manly and get on with his job, concludes the poem, it was not in order to arrive at or even to enforce this moral that the poem was written; it was mainly for the sake of the love-song, the playful half-ironic love-song, which is the core of the composition.

Such, with variations, is the art of Theocritus. In xv similarly the virtuosity, sentiment, and prettiness of the professional singer's hymn to Adonis are set in the all but irrepressible chatter of a pair of blunt good-humoured bourgeois matrons; immediately preceded by Gorgo's διαχρέμπτεται ἤδη (bless that papyrus¹) and immediately followed by the disquieting prospect of a Diocleidas who has not dined.

Our poem, if I have any judgment in such matters, is by the author of Theocr. x, xiv, and xv. Like that vision (itself also *gilded*, 101, 114, 123) which embodies so many of the wish-fulfilments of the religious and other instincts of two middle-aged women, this vision, which represents the height of bliss for two ignorant poor and tired old men, is set in comparatively drab surroundings, which are tersely and accurately described in a manner suggesting personal observation. From a different aspect these are contrasted, and I think deliberately contrasted, studies; xv is perhaps the first poem in European literature to convey the impression, so notably absent from the writing of the Lyric and Attic periods, of swarming humanity, of city crowds; there at last in Alexandria is the traffic jam, essentially very much as we know it ourselves. The nameless scene of xxi, on the other hand, is arguably the bleakest in Greek poetry. The moral, and more significantly than the moral, the pair of contrasted characters in which the moral is exemplified, represent a variation on the substance of x and xiv. It is the old, the everlasting contrast; 'the Dream and the Business'; ποιεῖν τι δεῖ, ἄς γόνυ χλωρόν—that is the hard lesson of life for Milon and Thyonichus and 2nd Fisherman; Boucaeus and Aeschines and 1st Fisherman are indeed (as is also that other trio) very different from one another in temperament (and the poet, of course, intended that they should be), but they are all three sensitive; Boucaeus and Aeschines are lovers; Aeschines and

1. -χρέμπτεται → -χρέπτεται is only too credible, and this latter would have been first read as -θρέπτεται and then emended (by grace of vi 15) to -θρύπτεται; but how could our reading ever have produced the other? I marvel that nobody has adduced Ar. *Thesm.* 381.

1st Fisherman have each wakened up to reality from a shattered illusion; Boucaeus and 1st Fisherman are both 'yearners for what is not there' (x 8), both are kept awake at night (*ἀγρυπνήσαι* x 10, cf. xxi 37 *ἀγρυπνίαν*¹) by their *πόθος* (*πόθος τῶν ἔκτοθεν ἐργάται ἀνδρί* x 9, cf. xxi 20 *ἀφένους πόθος*² and 3 *ἀνδρίσιν ἐργατίναισι*). I have already referred to the *gold* in the Adonis-Aphrodite vision; observe now that Boucaeus too answers to this criterion of affinity; he longs for 'royal' wealth (*βασιλεύσειν* xxi 60 was actually emended into *ἀπολαύσειν*, and Hiller positively adopted that, but β. is confirmed by *Κροῖσον* x 32); and he longs to see himself, his lady-love, and the objects associated with their vocations, all in gold.

For a piece which tradition itself has placed in the Theocritean corpus, I myself should be inclined to reckon that this much affinity was enough. But two more facts confirm it. The general poetic technique here indicated in just this relation between content and structure is clearly observable in Theocritus and is not (so far as I can remember) observable in the work of any other Greek poet. Moreover, and in this second fact lies I believe the explanation of the first, that very conflict between the irreconcilable claims of the practical and the aesthetic life, experienced as it is in some form by all sensitive people, was demonstrably in a peculiar degree the experience of Theocritus himself, and he records his struggles in a far more vivid and personal way than any predecessor. As a poet who if not exactly poor was clearly under the necessity of turning his poetry to account, he twice at least had to invite patronage (xvi, xvii); he complains in very modern³ fashion that people simply will not pay for poetry (xvi 21); they see no reason for the existence of contemporary poets and consider that the standard poetry should be enough for anybody (20). In general, however, the cry of Theocritus is 'the poetic life for me'; see the conclusions of ix, xvi, xxii. But the inner conflict appears also, projected and externalised in this poet's creatures, elsewhere in his work; the little boy in i 45-54 who neglects both his job and his provision-basket out of 'delight in his raffia' is pointedly contrasted with the old man who fishes with every ounce of

1. Follow the corrupt tradition (*ἀγραν*) and this tally disappears. But here nobody does so. *ἀγρυπνίαν* is Reiske's.

2. Follow the corrupt tradition, once again, and this tally too disappears. *ἀφένους πόθος* is mine.

3. How like the personification in Heine's *Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen* is xvi 6-12. And how modern is the reference to the cupboard for rejected manuscripts.

his strength ; there, in a more extreme form, is the very character-contrast of our poem.

We had little justification in any case, we have even less now, for concentrating our entire poem on its conclusion as not merely ' the moral ' but the climax and the message. As to climax, that was not in general the Greek way ; this has been well observed by several scholars.¹ But our main guide must be the companion poems. In xiv 57-70 Theocritus the struggling author is hoping to please Ptolemy ; but in xiv 1-56 Theocritus the master of ' mime ' or ' idyll ' (or whatever you like to call this very definite *genre*) is painting a domestic interior with an art more Dutch than anything in antiquity ; consider, among other things, the way in which that still life (14-17) is quietly and cunningly included to increase the realism by standing out, as such objects always do, stark, irrelevant, insensitive, slightly ridiculous, amidst a scene of human passion. But in that example the description is, rightly, put into the mouth of the narrator, to show how he remembered every detail of that unhappy dinner-party. In x the moral is harshly stated ; it is deliberately (what the ' action song ' 42-55 deliberately is not) unsympathetic, so as to make the reader protest and return admiringly to the love-song. In our duologue the speech which propounds the moral is at the same time playful, a parody of a professional interpretation of an omen given in dream. The essence of the poem is the dream itself. The moral is hard fact ; the sympathies of the poet are with both these outcasts, but much more with the incorrigible visionary.

A dream as such is always interesting ; this dream belongs to that remarkable type, the existence of which was noted, and its psychology discussed, by R. L. Stevenson (*A Chapter on Dreams*, Works, Swanston ed., Vol. XVI, p. 186) ; the type that leads (or appears to lead) to an upshot which, while accounting for apparent mysteries that have preceded, comes as a surprise to the dreamer himself. In our case however the real explanation lies in the poet's own aim and obligation of securing some characteristically Greek wit ; at 44-51 the fun consists in the application of the technique and terminology of fishing to a purely imaginary situation. The metal fish ' refused to flurry ' (51) ; no doubt after each pull he settled nicely upon some ledge of the rocky ' bank ' (49). But I laugh at this dream itself, just as I laugh when my friend a certain

1. *E.g.* Murray, *Gk. Lit.*, p. 222.

Director of an Art Gallery (far away from Liverpool) describes to me how his chief, an Alderman on the City Council, invades even his slumber with fatuous encomiums upon bad paintings which he recommends for exhibition; as I laugh at my own dreams of lecturing to classes or of making convincing emendations of suitably corrupted texts. But Fritzsche, Brinker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'are not amused.' In 54-5 is (I fancy) a pair of shrewd touches; the sly old sea-god with his kept favourites, and the property-loving benthic *Hausfrau*. The personification in ἡπειρώταν (58) is felicitous; unlike its owner, the dory has not made a fortune, and might have become restless. But subtlest and truest of all is the crazy logic and endearing workmanliness of caulking and fastening his little craft before he went off to enjoy his royalty; tarring away at it, all in the dream.

The other crony, who to his fellow-salt appears a Daniel for dream-diagnosis and indeed judgment in general, voices the gospel of common sense in terms which, even in my text, may well seem more incontrovertible than surprising. But in so far as that is true (and 'the fleshly fish' is less of a *cliché* than many phrases in Euripides) it is just the joke. Not Shakespeare alone exploited simple-mindedness and inarticulacy (amounting sometimes to aphasia¹) for dramatic humour. The amused portrayal of *naïveté* is of the essence of the mime. Theocritus who so often chooses his models for their wit at other times as obviously chooses them for their folly. The Cyclops of xi never knows—yes, I do not think he knows even at 58 f.—that the laugh is against him throughout; he says all the wrong things, but he says them exquisitely; of the poetry of calf-love this is the very cream, nay even the cream cheese. And just like Marryat's gallant Captain,² our 2nd Fisherman 'hasn't the gift of the gab, my boys.' He and his companion were both presumably illiterate; they belong to a fraternity whose mental equipment was never extensive—outside their craft; this pair are storehouses of eloquence and culture compared to those two old salts of Q's *Troy Town* who arranged to compete with one another in composing a poem; at the end of an hour's deep thought, each had evolved three lines; the better achievement was 'Fare thee well, Barnstaple steeple; | Fare thee well, I say; | Never shall I see thee, once agen, a long time ago'; and yet this episode I for my part have found unforgettable. Who would protest

1. For 'aphasia' (*à la* Bottom's account of his dream) see *e.g.* x 37.

2. See *e.g.* in Squire's *The Comic Muse*, pp. 59 f.

that neither result was impressive? So let Fritzsche here complain of aridity and poverty if he will.¹ After all, was not that our subject?

Working backwards thus from that misjudged 'moral,' I arrive at the description of the scene. 'Sympathie hat der Verfasser gar nichts mit ihnen' says Wilamowitz. If my readings are right at 9 and 14, that statement is just as false as it could be; but even in the old days when I first mugged through the text which official scholarship here compels the learner to construe, my immediate impression was one of fondly meticulous sympathy as having evidently inspired this elaborate reproduction of what was, I can scarcely doubt, some actual domicile. (And that impression is itself, in fact, the original cause of this entire article.) Fritzsche and his disciple Brinker both insist that the catalogue of 9-13 is, as such, un-Theocritean,² and they both call it verbose. That catalogue is *not* verbose; it is as terse as it could possibly be; what *is* a good example of verbosity is Fritzsche's criticism of this whole poem. That catalogue is *not* an argument against Theocritean authorship; it is an argument for it; look (once more) at xiv, the young blood's dinner-party; there were four of us, and so the other three are named; then follows the menu, six items; three with asyndeton. These two 'conversation pieces' are painted on the same principles; scene, then objects, then dialogue. And as if after Middle Comedy (to say the least) any poet could not have inserted a catalogue where occasion arose.

The substance of our poem is preceded by an introduction, stating the generalisation which the subject illustrates, and addressed directly to a friend of the author. The same is literally true of xi (where they rightly compare xiii). It is patently at this extremity, and not at the other where the words were spoken in character, that we get the poet's own reflections, and these are, by contrast, sympathetic. Truly life is hard and rude awakenings are many. But modern psychologists know of 'compensatory' imaginings, voluntary and reflex; and Theocritus

1. Some of this part is certainly poor enough in F.'s text—*q.v.*, as compared with mine, at 36-8. But what about F.'s own complaint, of the language of this *senex*, that it has (ital. mine) '*quasi quandam senectutem*'! F. finds the dreamer's part languid and meagre, and the whole piece forbidding and gloomy. Well (at the most), so seemed parts of Wordsworth to many (and for ultimately similar reasons), yet they were still Wordsworth's. F. also implies scorn of 62, but he probably forgets that fishermen are regularly superstitious, and he has not the least suspicion that, even so, this very dilemma is part of the poet's whimsicality; dream or no dream, an oath is an oath, and Eur. *Hipp.* 612 was notoriously a sophistry.

2. Poor Th., again; what he (*ex hypoth.*) had not done elsewhere he cannot do here. One wonders how at that rate he ever got the length of writing anything.

knows that, short of death itself, there is no means of totally destroying the buoyancy of the human spirit. Even in the barest destitution, men can have wonderful, they can have golden, dreams. I never read 63-7 but I reflect that, while ancient literature is always so much simpler and starker than modern, it had its own way of admonishing us that *il faut cultiver notre jardin*. And I never read this poem but I remember an occupation incomparably more abject, a figure far more pitiful and solitary and necessitous than these; I 'think of the leech-gatherer on the lonely moor.' In its delicate way, the thing is a little masterpiece, and it breathes Theocritus at every pore; his is the style no less than the conception; while if the scene and some of the features are exceptional, it is clear from the variety of his authenticated remains that the father of pastoral was a poetic experimentalist.

Appendix.—The two emendations which must always, I fear, seem wholly gratuitous I will not attempt to recommend, and will defend only very summarily. In 3 *κακαί* could not in my opinion be Th.'s word; 'evil' would be wretched padding, 'accursed' would be out of tone; for *πικναί* vid. *Od.* xix 515-7 (where note *ἐρέθουσιν*, cf. our 21). As to 12:—(i) surely in this of all poems there must be δύο γέροντες and no third; γέρων is in any case too far off to be iteration for the sake of point, and its use intrudes on their desolation; (ii) there is no such term anywhere else in this inventory, which is a specification of tackle and its material; (iii) *per contra* γέρρων corresponds to *σχοίων* (11) and *πλεκ. καλ.* (7); (iv) an *old* boat is no part of the regular equipment of *sportsmen* (9); (v) *μήριθου* gives asyndeton in any case, and it is better to have this maintained, concluding the catalogue exactly as at xiv 17.

ADDENDA TO PART I

p. 31, l. 8] True, not the sea; however, a *river* is said to 'swim past'—*παρηνήχεται*—in *Anth. Pal.* IX 668, 7 (cited by Meineke); but this is not so bad. Still, I must admit that a 'sea narrowed into a gully' (see Meineke's note and citations) *might* be said—if a *river* could be said—to 'swim' up to the beach (reading *τραφερὰν*) close by their hut. My difficulty, however, then is that whereas *ἐτήρει* relates perfectly to κύων, and γείτων to κύθραν (cf. *Ar. Pax* 1141-5; but γ. does *not* relate plausibly to θύραν, because γείτων does *not* imply 'thief'), I entirely fail to see any point or relevance in this third and curiously precise description. Indeed on the contrary one would

then think they *would* need a door, in case of storms. I stick to my 'triple chiasmus.'

p. 37, note on line 9] ἀθύρματα will correspond exactly in use to *ludicra* as found in Cic. *De Fin.* I 20, 69; as to which see further *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.* CLVI p. 13.

p. 41, note on line 59] Cf. *e.g.* Thuc. VIII 2, 4 λογιζόμενοι ἀπηλλάχθαι ἂν τὸ λοιπόν.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, LIVERPOOL, AT ATHRIBIS

By ALAN ROWE

WITH PLATES XXXIV-XXXVII

THE Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool, has recently completed a month's trial excavations at Tell Atrib, the ancient Athribis, near Benha. The late Sir Robert Mond,* F.R.S., organised the expedition and shared the expenses of its work with the Emir Habib Lotfallah, of Cairo, part proprietor of the *tell* which actually belongs to the Cairo Agricultural Company.

The results obtained in the limited time surpassed our hopes, for the *tell*, at least in certain parts of it, has proved to be rich in important antiquities of various periods. Among the new finds were a great Egyptian stela with enigmatical and other inscriptions, and a large Greek stela referring to the erection of a four-sided triumphal archway.

Although the debris was discovered to be water-logged at a depth of about two metres below the parts of the *tell* which had been more or less recently razed to the level of the surrounding fields, above that depth it was found to be in excellent condition for excavation, and to contain many inscribed monuments, some of a date contemporary with the upper levels, *i.e.* onwards from the Ptolemaic era, and others of much older date which had been brought up anciently from the lower levels for re-use in the buildings of the upper levels.

THE HEART OF OSIRIS

In the times of the Pharaohs Tell Atrib bore a religious name and an administrative one, the former being *Kem*, or 'The Black Bull,' and the

* Sir Robert Mond died on October 22nd, 1938, while this Report was in the press.

latter *Het-ta-ḥery-ib*¹ (as it is usually read), a name which, though not exactly clear, some think is to be translated 'The House of the Land in the Middle.' It is from the administrative name that the classical form Athribis was derived. The city was actually the capital of the Tenth Nome of Lower Egypt, that is to say, 'The Nome of the Black Bull.' Like all ancient Egyptian cities, Athribis had a number of cults of various gods attached to it, the tutelary deity being called Horus-Chent-Chety, or Osiris-Chent-Chety, a name meaning 'Horus (or Osiris) at the head of Chety[t]'²; his consort was Khewyt, a form of Hathor. Another important local deity was Kem-wer, or 'The Great Black Bull,' a form of Osiris, the judge of the dead. Models of the sacred bull have actually been found by the Liverpool Expedition. But the chief importance of Athribis as a religious centre lay in the fact that the heart of Osiris was believed to have been buried there. Indeed, one of the names of Athribis, or perhaps of one of its chief temples, was *Het-ib*,³ namely, 'House of the Heart.' The new enigmatical stela apparently shows scenes associated with the heart of Osiris.

BRICK PYRAMID

When Napoleon's great scientific expedition came to Egypt it noticed a brick pyramid in the centre of the *tell* at Athribis, which pyramid, it is interesting to note, is the most northerly one known in Egypt and certainly the only one known in the Delta.⁴ Its superstructure was removed many years ago. However, the Liverpool Expedition managed to identify its position, but unfortunately, owing to lack of time, was unable to carry out excavations to ascertain whether any underground sepulchral chamber still exists and to discover the name of the owner and the period in which he lived. This important work it is hoped to carry out at a later date.

1. A variant is *Het-ḥery-ib*; cf. H. Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géographiques*, IV, pp. 112, 140 and 141.

2. Obviously a district of Athribis. Cf. H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 205. A large unpublished sandstone statue-stand (Nos. 11.11 and 20.20) in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, which bears the cartouches of Rameses II and Merenptah, also clearly shows that Chetyt is a district, for the name has the 'city' determinative after it. This monument was brought to my notice by Mahmoud Effendi, Hamza of the Museum, formerly a student of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.

3. See especially H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 48.

4. Cf. *Description de l'Égypte*, V, Pl. 27, and *Annales du Service*, II, p. 115.

MONUMENTS OF AMENOPHIS III AND RAMESES II

The Institute of Archaeology came across many inscribed stone monuments ranging in date from the XVIIIth Dynasty to the fourth century after Christ, all in the upper part of the *tell*; the earliest consisting of a block bearing the cartouches of Amenophis III, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who certainly must have built a temple at Athribis. Until this discovery was made practically all that we knew of the king's association with the site, apart from a monument actually discovered there and dedicated by him to a local serpent deity,¹ was contained in an inscription on a statue found long ago at Karnak, which informs us that a certain Amenophis, a high official of Amenophis III and chief priest of the god Horus-Chent-Chety, 'did excellent things' for Athribis, where he dug two large lakes brightened with flowers upon their shores.²

Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty also certainly founded a temple at Athribis, for the Liverpool Expedition came across his name on a large granite block forming part of the base or capital of a column; doubtless to the same temple belonged the following previously-discovered monuments, all bearing the king's titles, namely, obelisks, a red granite lion, statues and various inscribed blocks.

STELA WITH FOUR INSCRIPTIONS

The most important find of all, however, during the month's work, a find which is of the greatest value for the study of the religion not only of Athribis itself but of ancient Egypt in general, consisted of a large heavy sandstone stela,³ measuring 1.10 m. wide, 1.09 m. high and .22 m. thick, and bearing four separate inscriptions (Pls. XXXIV and XXXV). On one of the edges of the monument are the cartouches of Rameses II and on another edge those of his successor Merenptah, the latter cartouches being followed by a short text which states that the monarch was beloved of the local god Horus-Chent-Chety.

Both faces of the stela are also inscribed, one face with a text

1. Published by Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 63, b, etc.

2. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, par. 919.

3. This is actually part of a wall relief; we should expect to find other parts below the modern road running over the *tell*. Other 'stelæ' from the same reliefs (wrongly ascribed to the Ramesside era) are published in *Annales du Service*, XVII, pp. 185 ff. Belonging to them must also be the unpublished 'stela' No. 29038, in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; this was re-used in the Tombs of the Caliphs, Cairo. Photographs of all these reliefs will appear in the *Annales du Service*, XXXVIII.

mentioning the name of Rameses II (Pl. XXXIV a) and the other with an inscription and scenes belonging somewhere in the period ranging from the XXXth Dynasty to the earliest part of the Ptolemaic era (Pl. XXXV a). The text of Rameses II is written below a scene showing the king making an offering of wine and 'truth' to two gods, one falcon-headed and horned and the other man-headed. Unfortunately the names of the gods are missing, but the former is evidently the local tutelary deity. The supposed man-headed god, who wears a uræus, may just possibly be a royal predecessor of the king, but this is not certain. In the inscription several gods are referred to including Thoth, Horus and Chent-Chety—that is to say, Horus-Chent-Chety, who elsewhere is shown either with the head of a crocodile or, as in the tomb of Rameses III of the XXth Dynasty, with the head of a falcon and horned (compare H. Sottas, in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Arch. Or. du Caire*, XXIII, pp. 169 ff.). Further, on the above-mentioned statue-stand of Rameses II and Merenptah he is also falcon-headed; his name is there given as Horus-khent-Chety-Osiris-who-is-in-Kem (Athribis). In the new inscription of Rameses II from Athribis the king informs us among other things that he was the 'sun of the kings,' the defender of Egypt, which he administered according to his own plans, the conqueror of foreign countries, the maker of many monuments, the giver of orders to his chief craftsmen; he also states he was skilful in all works appertaining to building, and ends up in a boastful strain by affirming that he was one who never erred!

IMPORTANT ENIGMATICAL INSCRIPTION

The reverse and, incidentally, the most important face of the stela is in the form of a shrine with a row of uræi or serpents on the cornice and a row of panel-like 'false doors' on the base. Inside the shrine, the left-hand portion of which is incomplete, are various scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions some of which are of an enigmatical nature in order to conceal their meaning from all but the initiated few. Although parts of the 'puzzle' writing have been made out, other parts of the writing, including certain mysterious scenes, have yet to be deciphered and explained. M. É. Drioton, the expert on ancient Egyptian cryptography, is giving the monument his attention; some notes by him will be published in the forthcoming number of the *Annales du Service*.

In the right centre of the shrine is a representation of the so-called 'Great House,' a name usually applied to the temple of the local god Osiris-Chent-Chety¹ after the time of Hophra of the XXVIth Dynasty, as is shown by two inscriptions of the king, one of which was found by the Liverpool Expedition. Inside the 'Great House' itself is a large human heart with the gods Horus and Thoth offering to it emblems of 'life' and 'prosperity' respectively. Supporting the heart, surely representing that of Osiris supposed to have been buried in Athribis, is a large scarab beetle. Above the heart are five hieroglyphs of a mystical nature which doubtless conceal some as yet undeciphered divine epithet. Underneath the 'Great House' are five altar-stands, while on the other three sides of it are seventy² small squares each seemingly containing the name of one of the seventy genii or divinities who protected the temple and the most sacred heart within it. Some of the names are peculiar, such as 'The Lord of the Two Arms,' 'The Lord of the Two Legs,' 'The Seer,' 'The Stable One,' 'The Lord of Silence,' 'The Hidden One,' 'The Devourer of Millions of Years,' and so on. M. Drioton points out that these names are seen at Edfu (Rochemonteix-Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, pp. 192-195 and 197-199, and Pl. XXIV b) and at Denderah (Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendera*, II, pp. 6-11, Pl. LXXXVIII).

To the left of the 'Great House' and its genii is a large figure of a divinity with the body of a man and the head of a vulture. He holds what is perhaps a roll of papyrus in his left hand and faces the 'Great House.' Before him is a text which gives his name as Wé'-tem, 'The One who is Complete' (=no. 73 of Edfu and no. 74 of Dendera); he is said to be 'secret in his form,' and is doubtless the chief of the seventy guardian divinities of the sanctuary. Behind him are mystical scenes, as yet unexplained, showing a goddess with uplifted arms; a deity placing the inverted emblem of 'alabaster' inside the emblem for 'clothing' (in *non-enigmatical* writing the association of the two emblems always refers to an offering of alabaster and clothing, but here the meaning must be different); and a seated crocodile—or hippopotamus-headed god accompanied by some enigmatical hieroglyphs. A little below this god is a gateway with seven uræi over it and a short text,

1. In the time of Hophra, *Chety* was actually written *Chetew*; cf. *Ann. Serv.*, XIII, pp. 280 and 281.

2. Or, perhaps, seventy-one; the seventy-first day, as we shall see presently, was usually that of the burial. There is no dividing line between the figure of the seated god (ATUM) in square No. 1 and the word *smz* below.

probably containing its name, inside it. Above the gateway is an interesting inscription mentioning the 'Chamber of the Seventy,' or, perhaps, the 'Chamber of the Seventy forms of Rê,' the number obviously referring to the seventy guardian genii around the 'Great House.' As Rê was of course the sun-god it would appear that the genii had solar associations. Anyhow, the fusion of the cults of Rê and Osiris was quite common in later times, as is shown for example by a statement in Chapter CLXXXII of the so-called Book of the Dead, in which the deceased says: 'I cause Rê to set [in the horizon] as Osiris, and Osiris setteth as Rê setteth.'

INSCRIPTION OF PHILIP

The Athribite 'Chamber of the Seventy' is also mentioned in an inscription on the famous statuette (found long ago on Tell Atrîb) of an official called Zed-Her,¹ who about 323 B.C., in the time of Philip, for whom Ptolemy I acted as satrap, built a new temple at Athribis in honour of Horus the falcon-god. A block bearing the name of Philip, and probably from this very temple, was discovered by the Liverpool Expedition. Zed-Her indicates that the new temple was erected to the south of the temple of Athribis which, he says, was situated in the region called Iat-Kemat, and which was obviously that dedicated to Horus-Chent-Chety, and also states that he found a number of unembalmed falcons lying inside the 'Chamber of the Seventy' in the latter temple. 'I caused them,' he says, 'to be sent to the "Place of Purification." I embalmed them with *merhet*-oil, swathing them beautifully with what was in the "Place of Purification."' He afterwards buried them in a cemetery to the north of Athribis. Iat-Kemat, literally 'The Place of that which is produced,' was actually the name of the sacred enclosure in which the great temple stood, while 'The Place of Purification' was one of the names for the Embalming Chamber, another name being 'The Beautiful House.'

THE SEVENTY DAYS OF EMBALMENT

Seeing that Zed-Her found the unembalmed falcons inside the 'Chamber of the Seventy,' and also in view of the fact that seventy was

1. *Ann. Serv.*, 18, pp. 115 ff. ; 19, pp. 66-68.

the usual number of days that elapsed between the death and burial of a human being—in other words, the days which it took to embalm the body—one is inclined to think that the ‘Chamber of the Seventy’ perhaps either formed part of or was associated with the actual Embalming Chamber itself. If so, it may tentatively be assumed that each of the seventy guardian deities mentioned in the new Athribis stela was identified with one particular day of the seventy days of embalmment—that is to say, the first deity in the inscription looked after the first day, the second deity, the second day, and so on. It is not unlikely therefore that the whole scene on the face of the stela under discussion refers to the embalming (?) and protection of the heart of Osiris, the great god of the dead. Thus the importance of the monument can hardly be exaggerated. It will be recollected, incidentally, that according to *Genesis*, 1, 3, the period of mourning in Egypt for the patriarch Jacob was seventy days, a period which is referred to in the Egyptian texts themselves either as the time of mourning¹ or, more frequently, as the time of embalming. It is interesting here to recall the fact that not long after the death of Zed-Her, and probably in the time of Ptolemy II, there was completed the famous Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures called Septuagint, literally ‘The Seventy,’ from the tradition that seventy persons were responsible for the work. The number seventy, in ancient days, certainly had a mystical significance. Compare K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern*, 1916, p. 36.

TRIUMPHAL ARCHWAY

Another very important monument found by the Liverpool Expedition consisted of a large white marble-like stela, measuring 1·20 m. wide, ·71 m. high and ·32 m. thick. This stela (Pl. XXXVI), which bears twelve lines of Greek inscription on one side and a rectangular panel on the reverse, was found quite close to the enigmatical inscription already described above. As M. O. Guraud of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, points out, the stela formed part of a large four-sided triumphal archway

1. Cf. especially, Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache*, II, p. 305, and a forthcoming article by myself (to appear in *Ann. Serv.*, 38), on objects belonging to the generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Sometimes, however, the number of days for embalming exceeded seventy. But the burial *usually* took place on the seventy-first day. Cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 29 and 30, footnote.

(*tetrapylon*) and bears a dedication in Greek to the Christian emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian, giving as an addition the name of the architect Flavius Cyrus, and of the Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Palladius. The inscription, which is dated A.D. 374, states that the archway 'bore the name of our very holy emperor Valens.' In the left lower corner is perhaps the number 'eight' and a palm-branch, the significance of which is not yet certain. Another similar inscription was found at Athribis many years ago; this, however, was on a block of stone having a frieze containing the alternate cartouches of Shabaka and Psemthek I of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties respectively, and is now in the Alexandria Museum.¹ M. Guréaud has been good enough to supply the following translation of the new inscription, together with a note on that found in 1847.

TRANSLATION OF THE NEW ATHRIBIS GREEK STELA²

'Par la volonté de Dieu tout puissant et de son Christ, sous le règne infiniment prospère de nos maîtres invincibles Valentinien, Valens et Gratien, les immortels Augustes, pendant la très heureuse dixième année (=374 après J.-C.) de leur règne, un "tetrapylone," portant le nom de notre très saint empereur Valens, a été fondé depuis les foundations, sous la direction de monseigneur le très illustre Préfet d'Egypte Aelius Palladius, la comptabilité et la surveillance de la construction du "tetrapylone" étant confiées à Flavius Cyrus, magistrat. Pour le bien!'

ROMAN TEMPLE

The site containing the stelae bearing the enigmatical and Greek inscriptions has only been partially excavated, for much of it is below a modern road. It would seem at present, however, that there was originally a Roman temple on the spot, the remains of which, in the shape of granite columns, capitals and bases, and a huge stone altar, are

1. Cf. G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, No. 64, where a good bibliography will be found.

2. Un bloc de grès,—fragment de naos de la XXVI^e dynastie, retourné et réemployé,—portant la même inscription, a été trouvé à Benha signalé par Letronne en 1847, et fréquemment publié depuis.

Ce bloc a été au Musée du Caire (Cat. Gén. No. 9273). Il fut envoyé au Musée d'Alexandrie en 1924. Il ne présente aucune variante par rapport au texte nouvellement découvert, sauf que les lignes sont divisées autrement.

lying on their sides (Pl. XXXVII). The altar is 10.4 m. high and 10.2 m. wide; one face of it bears two uræi, the 'life' sign, a floral device and so forth, together with a short Greek text, Pl. XXXVII *e*. On the reverse side is another short Greek text, while the other sides are plain. The Christian archway was evidently built over and partly out of the ruins of the older temple. Belonging to the former structure are some capitals, cornice fragments and a beautiful frieze, all of white marble, and all decorated with the acanthus plant (see Pl. XXXVII *d*).

ROMAN CONDUITS

To the south-east of the temple area the Expedition came across some cement-lined many-chambered Roman tombs, unfortunately water-logged,¹ and, what is particularly interesting, part of the great underground conduit system which in Roman times supplied the city with its water. The system consists of a number of arched passages made of baked red bricks, all arranged in the form of a great grid with pits at intervals leading to the surface. One of the passages was completely excavated, and was seen to be nearly 18 m. in length, 1.80 m. high and .40 m. wide; the top of the arch was 1.50 m. below the original ground surface. Each pit served not only as a place for drawing up the water, but also as a junction for interconnecting passages. Even to this day water freely runs in the conduits, and a powerful pump lent to the Expedition by the Cairo Agricultural Company could remove no more than about .50 m. of water from the top of the passage.

Interesting objects found on other parts of the *tell* consisted of a large truncated Græco-Roman stone altar showing Shu, the god of the atmosphere, on one face and worshippers on the other faces; a small rectangular libation altar of the same period; a slab of stone originally containing in colours the name of some king of the XXVIth Dynasty; part of the inscribed base of a Ptolemaic statuette of a private person; a good number of inscribed amphora handles, mostly from Rhodes; thirty-four nice Græco-Roman lamps, one bearing the figure of a gladiator; three stone moulds for jewellery and cult objects, one six-sided, showing the figures of a bull, a seated man, a fish, a bird, a standing man and a dagger, respectively; several cult objects such as the figures of a

1. Other Roman tombs, not water-logged, and in a higher level, exist in the north part of the *tell*.

ram and a falcon, together with the model of a throne ; scarabs ; scores of Græco-Roman coins ; and figurines of various gods, namely, Isis, Bes, Harpocrates and Zeus. By far the best figurine of the lot was one of Hercules, about 20 m. high, and in perfect condition. This is of light brown pottery originally decorated in vivid colours, traces of which still remain. The god holds a club in his right hand and has a long mantle over his left arm. Finally must be mentioned a great quantity of unbroken pottery and huge amphoræ, mostly of the Græco-Roman and Early Christian periods, all of which have enabled the Liverpool Expedition to form a good idea of the household utensils used during the later periods in Athribis.¹

A NOTE TO MR. ALAN ROWE'S PROVISIONAL REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT ATHRIBIS

BY A. M. BLACKMAN

Sir Robert Mond and Mr. Alan Rowe were kind enough to ask me to append to the Provisional Report on their last season's work at Athribis a translation of the inscription of Ramesses II, and to contribute, if I felt so inclined, some notes on the Ptolemaic inscription. I should like to tender them my sincere thanks for giving me the opportunity of dealing with two new texts of considerable interest.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION OF RAMESES II²

'Live Horus, Strong Bull, beloved of Mē³ et ! Sun of Kings³ arising in the sky, his rays⁴ being in heaven like those of (2) the Horizon-god,

1. The best account of Athribis in the latest period is in *Dict. d'arch. chrétienne*, I, pp. 3111 ff. Details of monuments previously discovered there are given by Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, IV, pp. 65-67 and 70. Later on I hope to publish a complete bibliography of the site.

2. May I here be allowed to suggest that the figure of a divinity with a human head, to whom Ramesses is offering the little image of Mē³ et, does not represent 'a royal predecessor' (see p. 126) but the king himself deified. Ramesses II, like Amenophis III, is not infrequently depicted in temple-reliefs as receiving divine honours during his lifetime (see A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, p. 2 with notes 3-5).

3. No other example of the epithet *šw n nsyw* has yet, apparently, been recorded. Professor Gunn refers me, however, to *R' n nsyw*, 'Rē³ of Kings,' cited by Grapow, *Die Bildliche Ausdrücke*, p. 31, as applied both to Ramesses II and Herihor. Cf. also *R' n hē šw*, 'Sun of Princes' (Varille, *Rev. d'égyptol.*, II, p. 174; *Mntw n nsyw*, 'a Menthu among Kings' (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, III, p. 50, LI); *m šl n hē šw*, 'Lion among Rulers' (Varille, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, 35, p. 167).

4. I know of no other instance of ☉ as the determinative of *stwt*, but it occurs not uncommonly as the determinative of *wbn*.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermarē'-chosen-of-Rē', Son of Rē', Ramesses-beloved-of-Amūn. Two Ladies, protecting Egypt, curbing the lands of Asia with (3) his counsels like Thoth, making good laws in all lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermarē'-chosen-of-Rē', Ramesses-beloved-of-Amūn. (4) Horus of Gold, rich in years, great in victories, a sovereign excellent in counsels, abounding in monuments, who giveth directions to the master-builders¹ like (5) Him of the Fair Countenance,² (4) who is skilled in all works like Thoth,³ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermarē'-chosen-of-Rē', Son of Rē', Ramesses-beloved-of-Amūn, given life. (6) Good god, beloved of Horus, protector⁴ of Khentekhtai. Every mountain produceth monuments⁵ bearing his name. The words spoken by his mouth, (7) they come to pass; no act of his cometh to nought.⁶ King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Rē', Ramesses-beloved-of-Amūn. Every stone obeyeth him, inscribed⁷ with his name. . . .'

Since the Ptolemaic relief and accompanying inscription is being discussed by Canon Drioton in the forthcoming volume of *Annales du Service*, I will make what remarks and suggestions I have to offer as brief as possible. But firstly may I be permitted to say that the inscription can hardly be designated 'enigmatical,' as it contains only one group of really sportive hieroglyphs, namely that above the representation of the sacred heart. For the writing of the names of the 'seventy

1. Cf. *ln hm-f dd tp-rd ssm k 3t m mnw-f shrw-f nb hpr-sn hr-'* (*wy*) *ml it-f Ptḥ*, 'It is his Majesty who gives the directions and conducts the work on his monuments. All his plans come to pass straightway like (those of) his father Ptḥ.' (Champollion, *Not. descr.*, II, p. 67; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, § 510.)

2. *I.e.*, Ptḥ, the patron-god of craftsmen.

3. For Thoth as director of building operations see *e.g.* J. Dümichen, *Baugeschichte*, Pl. 57, l. 4; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1266; Mariette, *Denderah*, I, Pl. 39 c; Dümichen, *Tempelinschr.*, II, Pl. 2, ll. 4 and 13; Borchardt, *ZAS* 37, p. 13.

4. The king, I presume, is designated the protector of Khentekhtai because he was supposed to care for the sacred hawks and to see that they were duly embalmed after death (cf. *Ann. Serv.*, 18, pp. 148 f.; 19, p. 67). For the spelling of *ndty* cf. *Wb.* II, 375, and for the use here of the indirect genitive see *op. cit.*, 376, 10.

5. Cf. *TSBA* 7, Pl. opposite p. 119, l. 14; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, § 405.

6. For *n wh-n sp-f*.

7. Mr. Rowe suggested in a letter that the last word in the line is to be read



, but it looks to me much more like  [] . I would re-

store *hr rn-f* after *hty* (see *Wb.* III, 347, 5), taking *hty* as Old Perfect. 3rd pers. sing. masc. (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 309). I can find no parallel for the words 'every stone obeyeth him,' *Pap. Lansing*, 2, 5, being hardly comparable. The idea of the composer of the inscription obviously is that Ramesses has not only complete control of all quarries, but that thanks to the power of his name every block of stone destined to form part of one of his buildings, and inscribed accordingly, is easily transported to the scene of operations and there slipped or hoisted into its place without undue delay.

forms of Rē' and of the other surviving portions of text only the ordinary hieroglyphic signs of the Ptolemaic period are employed.

Mr. Rowe suggests that the heart here depicted is that of Osiris. I, on the other hand, for various reasons stated below, am inclined to think that it is the heart of Rē'. To make the position more clear it will be best to set forth the evidence favouring both points of view, giving first place to that which supports Mr. Rowe's theory.

(1) Mr. Rowe maintains (p. 124) that 'the chief importance of Athribis as a religious centre lay in the fact that the heart of Osiris was believed to have been buried there.' This assertion is evidently based on the inscription accompanying the well-known relief at Denderah which depicts fourteen wooden caskets, each of them containing a relic of Osiris.¹ The passage in the inscription referring to the eleventh casket is as follows: 'I lifted up the god's heart in Athribis, that I might take it to Denderah.'² No other inscription, so far as I know, definitely associates the heart of Osiris with Athribis.

(2) Further support for Mr. Rowe's view is supplied by two lists of divinities,³ the one at Edfu and the other at Denderah, which, owing to their position in either temple, closely connect the divinities they enumerate with the chapel of Sokaris and therefore with the celebration of the Osiris mysteries.⁴ These two lists, which to some extent duplicate one another, contain between them the names of all the gods whom the Athribis inscription designates the 'seventy forms of Rē', with the exception of nos. 34, 53 and 65. These three names, however, may have been included amongst those in the Edfu list which are now obliterated. It should here be noted that at Edfu the texts accompanying the list in question quite clearly speak of the divinities to whom they refer as being in the service of Osiris.⁵ So also does the corresponding text at Denderah which is to be translated as follows: 'The great s}w·n·sn-gods who safeguard the Seat of the Prince of the White Crown,⁶ who protect

1. J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, III, Pl. I.


2. *T's·n·i ib ntr m Km-wr it(·i) s(w) r T}·rr.*

3. See above, p. 127.

4. See E. Chassinat, *Temple de Dendara*, II, pp. 5 f.

5. See Rochemonteix, *Temple d'Edfou*, I, pp. 191-200.

6. Mr. H. W. Fairman, my collaborator in Ptolemaic Egyptian studies, has pointed

out to me that , which is to be read *Sr-hdt*, 'Prince of the White Crown'

(see Chassinat, *Temple d'Edfou*, VII, 208, 12; and cf. *nsw n hdt* [Chassinat, *op. cit.*, V, 292, 6]; *sr n m}·t* [Dendara, III, 154, 12]), is undoubtedly a designation of Osiris (see e.g. Chassinat, *Dendara*, II, 141, 8; III, 168, 11; *Edfou*, V, 73, 11; see also *Dendara*, II, 141, 3).

it round about, the lords who keep watch by day and sleep not by night, warding off the Poltroon¹ from his hall, the seventy-seven gods banded together, driving away the foes from the Seat of Rē', preserving his dwelling, protecting his body, guarding his spirit (*k*) in his shrine.'

The following facts seem to favour my view rather than that of Mr. Rowe.

(1) Too much importance must not be attached to the text at Denderah (see above) which enumerates the relics of Osiris and assigns them to this or that locality. As Fairman and I have shown in an article which will, we hope, shortly appear in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, its claims are contradicted in more than one instance by inscriptions at Edfu (see note 68 of the commentary in the article in question).

But it should here be stated that it is quite in harmony with the Egyptian religious outlook for the heart of Rē'—which, according to my interpretation of the relief from Athribis, was the object of a cultus in that city—to be identified with the heart of Osiris in a text of the late period such as that at Denderah, a period when the worship of Osiris was so popular and so widespread. Similarly, a myth about the dismembered ox-god of the eleventh nome of Lower Egypt seems to have been distorted and assimilated to the Osiris-myth, though Osiris and this animal-divinity had originally no connexion with one another whatsoever.² Compare also the Osirianization of the originally solar temple-liturgy and the similar treatment of so many of the 'Utterances' in the *Pyramid Texts*.

(2) As Mr. Rowe points out, Horus and Thoth stand one on either side of the sacred heart and present to it the symbols of life and happiness respectively. In texts of the Ptolemaic period both Thoth and Khons are designated 'Heart of Rē',³ while in that very ancient theological work, known to us as the *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, Horus is assigned the same title.⁴ Thus in our relief the two gods who are represented as ministering to the sacred heart are both intimately connected with the heart of the creator-god—Rē'-Atum according to the Heliopolitan, and Ptaḥ-Tanen according to the Memphite, theologians.

Again, the presence here of the scarabaeus suggests that we have to

1. *Hmty*=Seth.



2. E. Otto, *Stierkulte*, p. 6 f.

3. K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 54; E. Chassinat, *Dendara*, I, 28, 12 (where the determinative of *ib n R'* is a figure of Thoth); 64, 11-12.

4. Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

do with the sun-god rather than with Osiris. Is there, by chance, any connexion between this representation of a scarab upholding the heart and the heart-scarab laid on the breast of a mummy? Was the heart-scarab so employed with the idea of magically replacing the dead person's own heart with the much more potent heart of Rē?


(3) The view that the heart in the Athribis relief is the heart of Rē rather than the heart of Osiris finds yet further support in the bottom line of text, which is divided into two portions by the five offering-stands. To the left of the stands are the words, 'The protection of his Majesty is behind it (the heart?)—twice (repeated)—for ever, in sky, earth and abyss,'¹ while to the right is written, 'The heart of Rē is strong, Atum rejoices over the god's heart.'² Surely the heart mentioned here can be no other than the heart depicted just above, to which Horus and Thoth are offering the symbols of life and happiness.




(4) Let us now see what can be made of the sportive hieroglyphs placed above Horus and Thoth and the heart held up by the scarabaeus. In view of what the two divine officiants are doing it is obvious that the -sign reads 'nh here and is not employed as a cryptogram. The heron is a not uncommon sportive writing of b.³ The loaf-sign in front of it, which often reads it 'father,' may well represent i. Thus the two signs together may perhaps be read ib 'heart.' But what about the vulture- and the cobra-signs? They can hardly be read Wsir 'Osiris.'  is sometimes, apparently, a writing of rnpt,⁴ and so, on the principles of

1. S } hm:f h } f sp 2 n dt m pt t } d yt.

2. Tnl ib n R' } bb 'Itm n (=m) ib ntr. For tnl 'strong' see Wb. V, 311, l. 2, and for }bl 'rejoice over' see op. cit., I, 7, 4. A possible rendering would be 'When the heart of Rē becomes old, etc.', in which case there might be a reference to the idea, often expressed in Egyptian religious texts, that the sun grows old in the evening and becomes Atum. For tnl 'be, become old' see Wb. V, 310, 4-7.

3. See e.g. H. Junker, *Über das Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hathor im Dendera*, p. 26.

4. Fairman has a good deal of evidence to show that in Ptolemaic texts  and similar writings of a word meaning 'year' are to be read not rnpt but nrl(t) (see esp. E. Chassinat, *Edfou*, VI, p. 282, 5). While this is almost certainly the correct

reading of  and its variants in the majority of cases, there do seem to be instances where it must be read rnpt (see e.g. A. Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, Pl. 30, where  frequently alternates with ). Also it would seem that the compound sign



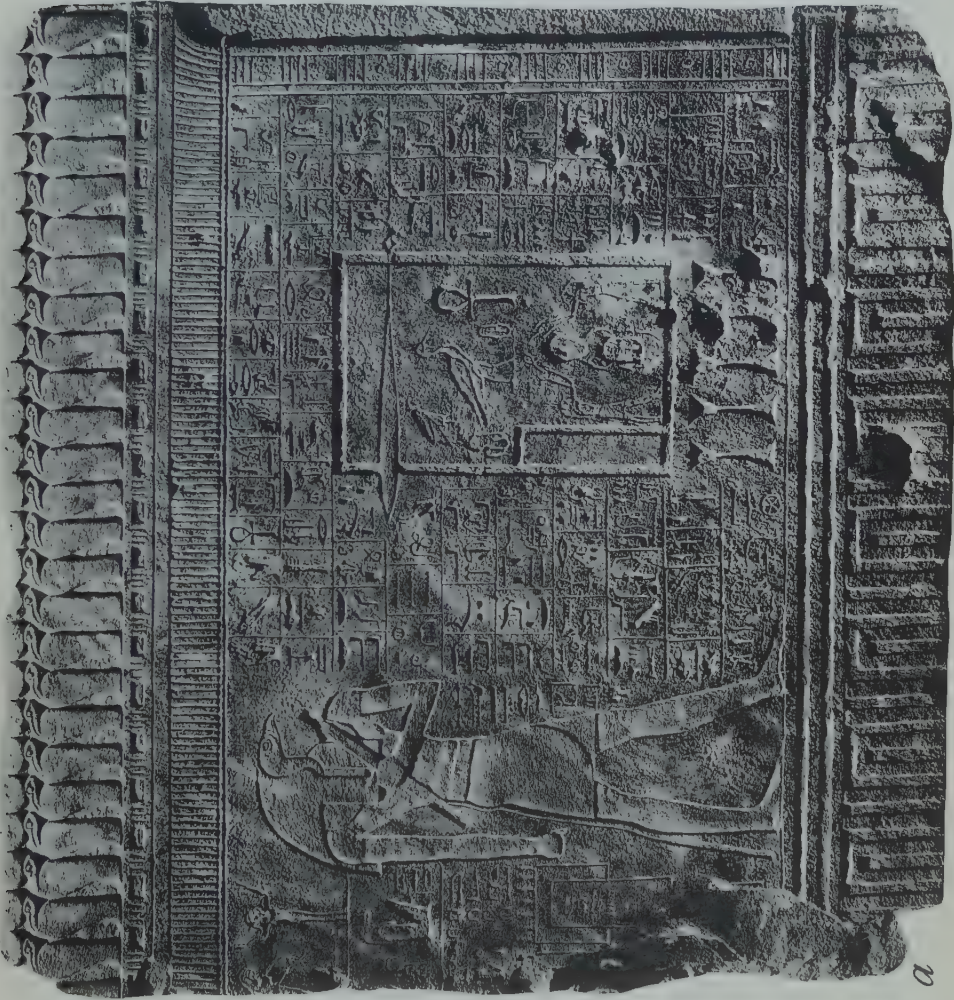
is to be read wp-rnpt (see H. Junker, op. cit., p. 30). But Fairman draws my



SANDSTONE STELA A. Scale 1:8 approx.
a. FACE 2. INSCRIPTION OF RAMESES II.
b. EDGE 2. CARTOUCHES OF MERENPTAH.



b



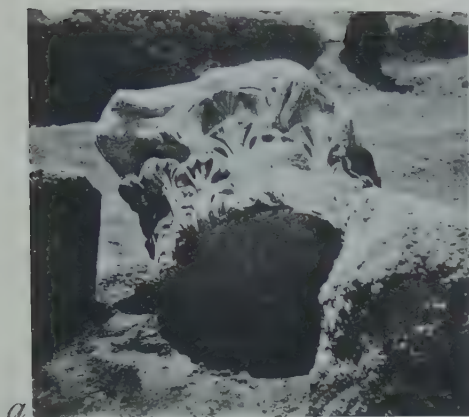
a

SANDSTONE STELA A. Scale 1:3 approx.
a. FACE 1, WITH ENIGMATICAL INSCRIPTION XXXTH DYNASTY.
b. EDGE 1, WITH CARTOUCHES OF RAMESES II.



STELA B.

GREEK INSCRIPTION A.D. 374, REFERRING TO THE ERECTION AT ATHRIBIS OF A *Tetrapylon*.
Scale 1:6 approx.



a



b



c



d






e






f

- a. CAPITAL, PROBABLY FROM THE *Tetrapylon*.
 b. COLUMN BASE, EITHER FROM THE ROMAN TEMPLE OR THE *Tetrapylon*.
 c. CAPITAL, FROM THE ROMAN TEMPLE, INVERTED.
 d. FRIEZE, FROM THE *Tetrapylon*, INVERTED.
 e. ROMAN ALTAR, ON ITS SIDE AS FOUND.
 f. GENERAL VIEW OF THE AREA OF THE ROMAN TEMPLE. (THE LARGER RECTANGULAR BLOCKS ARE FROM A TEMPLE OF HOPHRA OF THE XXVTH DYNASTY.)

acrophony, might well represent the letter *r*, while  certainly seems to stand for ' in the word  ,¹ for, in view of what is said in *Wb.* III, 241, 7, that word is evidently to be read *h*^{cc}. Accordingly it seems not altogether impossible that the enigmatic or sportive group of signs which we have been discussing is to be transcribed '*nh ib R*' and translated '(Long) live the Heart of Rē.'

I shall be most interested to see whether my distinguished colleague, Canon Drioton, comes to more or less the same conclusion as myself with regard to the cryptograms, or whether he brings forward conclusive proofs that the signs are to be read entirely differently.

attention to the fact that  and  are writings of *rm*^t 'men,' 'people' (see Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, II, p. 5, and *Wb.* II, 422. Thus there is yet further support for the suggestion that  is here used as an alphabetic sign = *r*.

1. E. Chassinat, *Edfou*, IV, p. 6, 8.

REVIEWS

Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands. Von Dr. LUDWIG CURTIUS. Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Potsdam, 1938.

This admirable volume of 466 quarto pages with 36 plates (9 in colour) and 604 text illustrations, all from excellent photographs, very few of which are on too small a scale to be useful, offers us representative examples of every type of Greek art, sculpture, architecture, vases, coins, gems and metal work from its first beginnings down to the close of the fourth century.

It is not very clear why the author of a book on Greek classical art should cut off the Hellenistic period while prefixing a long chapter on Minoan-Mycenaean art. This prologue is apparently due to his conviction that compared with Egyptian, Assyrian or other Eastern art the Minoan is essentially European, and must therefore in some way, which he admits has not yet been fully worked out, be connected with the classical Greek art that is his subject. We do not quarrel with the inclusion, for no book is the worse for good coloured illustrations of the Phylakopi flying fish or the Knossos saffron gatherer, though we may think that however European the Cretan artist's outlook there is a wide gulf between the riotous exuberance of his fancy and the lovely restraint which is the Greek's. Yet a book with this title that leaves out the Dying Gaul, the Laocoon (shade of Winkelmann!) and the Venus of Milo does seem incomplete.

Though Dr. Curtius' style may perhaps appeal more to German than to English readers, his text is full of interest and the slight appearance of dogmatism was probably unavoidable in the space at his disposal. We may feel uncertain about some of his statements, *e.g.* the Attic provenance of the Apollo of Tenea, the close connection of the Nike of Delos with the Rampin head, and the firm dismissal of doubts about the Boston throne as *ungerechtfertigt*. The acceptance of this monument probably accounts for the date given (455-445 B.C.) which seems impossibly late for the Ludovisi throne. Still, in a book of this kind the essential thing is to give the reader such guidance as will enable him to look at the pictures intelligently, and in this Dr. Curtius will have succeeded admirably.

We have found only one unimportant mistake of fact, the provenance of the Ligourio statuette (Abb. 436) being given as Olympia, and one omission, Payne's joining of the Rampin head to a rider's body from the Acropolis.

J. P. DROOP,

The Clothing of the Ancient Romans. By LILLIAN M. WILSON, Ph.D.
(The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 24.)
Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. London : Humphrey
Milford. 22s. 6d.

This excellent book presents the student with a comprehensive description of the clothes worn by the Romans down to the fifth century of our era put forward with all the authority to which the author is entitled through her wide study of all the extant evidence. This lies partly in literature, in a small degree in frescoes and illuminated manuscripts, but chiefly in sculpture, where the realism of the Roman artist led him to render clothing with a remarkable fidelity.

The book is indeed comprehensive, for it opens with a chapter on the raw materials, their colours and their dyeing, with a disquisition on the shades of Roman purple and how they were obtained, which is illustrated by a coloured frontispiece produced as far as practicable after recipes contained in the Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis. This is followed by a chapter on the preparation of cloth, its spinning and weaving, with a description of the two forms of loom used by the Romans and of the finishing process of fulling.

The main body of the work, however, consists of ten chapters on the various garments. Each is described and illustrated from ancient art as far as possible, and from the draped living model, and a pattern is given with dimensions and instructions for putting it on. For most readers perhaps the chief interest will lie in the chapter on the *toga*, which is an abridgement of an earlier monograph by the same author. To the question what manner of thing was this garment which symbolised the civil power of Rome and how did the Roman wear it, we learn that there are several answers depending on the date. In the course of the six hundred years over which the monumental evidence extends there was a natural cycle of development, elaboration, simplification and decay, each stage of which is made clear. If by one reader the instructions for arranging the 'Imperial' toga can hardly be followed in the printed page, this is doubtless due to the extreme complication of the arrangement, yet even so with the actual stuff in hand the directions should be plain enough.

In the descriptions of the other garments, less absorbing perhaps as they are less complicated, the writer makes one interesting point that the Roman though he despised trousers (*bracae*) yet wore knickerbockers or shorts (*feminalia*) as part of the regular equipment of the equites. And the present writer was delighted to discover that as a small boy in France in the 'nineties he wore, like all the little French boys of that date, a perfect reproduction of the *paenula*.

J. P. DROOP.

Excavations at Saqqara: The Tomb of Hemaka. By WALTER B. EMERY, with the collaboration of ZAKI YUSEF SAAD. Pp. viii+66, pls. 42, with a frontispiece in colour. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo, Government Press, Bulâq, 1938. P.T. 112.

It was a fortunate day for Egyptology when Mr. W. B. Emery was entrusted with the task of excavating the 'archaic cemetery' at Saqqârah, and archaeologists—especially those who are acquainted with his methods and have seen him at work on the site—will earnestly hope that he will be permitted to continue his researches there until they have been entirely completed. Mr. Emery has so profound a knowledge of the material of the protodynastic period in Egypt, and his technique as an excavator is of so high an order, that to replace him would be disastrous for archaeology. That this statement is no exaggeration must be apparent to any Egyptologist who has read this book, especially if he knows something about archaic Egyptian tombs and their contents. Those responsible for the preservation of the antiquities of Egypt will do well to bear in mind the impressive words of M. Lacau, quoted by Mr. Emery in his preface: 'This cemetery is more or less the last chance of solving the numerous problems of the archaic period of Egyptian history.'

As Mr. Emery remarks on p. 2, 'One of the major problems in connection with Hemaka is the question as to why he built his tomb so far away from that of his master at Abydos? Again, why is his tomb so different to, and more elaborate in type than, that of the king? These questions raise the important point, are the tombs at Abydos really the burial-places of the kings, or are they cenotaphs?' The unearthing last winter of the tomb of 'Aḥa at Saqqârah favours the second alternative. Perhaps, therefore, Mr. Emery may have the good fortune to find during the seasons to come the actual tombs of other kings of the first two dynasties.

This publication, and the photographs and account of Mr. Emery's latest discoveries which appeared a few months ago in the *Illustrated London News*, make it clear that Dr. G. A. Reisner is wrong in applying the adjective 'provincial' to the 'palace-façade' type of maṣṭabah, seeing that that is the type of maṣṭabah erected not only by Hemaka at Saqqârah but by King 'Aḥa. It is surely not these great constructions that are to be designated 'provincial' but rather the royal 'tombs' at Abydos.

Important for the history of Egyptian architecture was the finding of the large and admirably cut and shaped limestone portcullis (p. 7, Pl. 6 c). As early as the reign of Udimu, therefore, the Egyptians were not only able to cut a deep pit and subterranean chambers out of the solid limestone rock (pp. 6 ff.), but to shape to perfection large blocks or slabs of the same material (p. 6, l. 8).

The ebony label (p. 35) dating from the reign of Djer presents several features of interest. Do the upper and middle registers record among other events the fashioning (*mst*; cf. Sethe, *JEA* 1, pp. 233 ff.) of the

images of a fish-divinity and a goddess (?), and of the emblem of the tenth Lower-Egyptian nome (*km wr*¹)? The mummiform figure may well depict a primitive inarticulated statue or statuette, of the type employed to represent Min, Ptaḥ and Khons throughout the historic period.² It is strange that the groups of signs on tablets of this sort should be so unintelligible, while the contemporary hieroglyphs on the sealings are normal and for the most part able to be read.

Among the many objects found in the magazines the disks (pp. 28 ff.) are of outstanding interest. Two of them, the one bearing a hunting scene and the other two doves with outstretched wings, are veritable artistic gems. The view that the disks are tops or teetotums strikes one as being highly probable.

The schist bowl in the form of a leaf (Pl. 19 c), broken though it is, displays the high level in taste and technique to which the First-Dynasty craftsmen had attained, as in a lesser degree do the inlaid boxes, leather bags, and some of the alabaster tables, vases and dishes.

The magazines provided, by the way, an unusually large collection of arrows of five distinct types. It is a pity that the leather quiver was too decayed to be preserved. The most interesting of the many clay sealings is discussed in a separate article in *Analecta Orientalia*, 17, pp. 4 ff.

For the philologist the most important of all the finds is that recorded on p. 41 under Cat. No. 433, for it shows that as early as the First Dynasty the Egyptians were writing with ink and reed-brush on rolls of papyri, a fact which supports Sethe's contention that the *Denkmal memphitischer Theologie* is derived from a First-Dynasty prototype. Possibly, therefore, the statement in an inscription at Denderah³ that the original plan of the temple, written on a leather roll dating from the time of the Followers of Horus, was found in a brick wall during the reign of Piopi I, is not so fantastic as one was inclined to suppose. And the same may be said also about an ancient medical treatise⁴ and Chapter 64 of the *Book of the Dead*, both of which, we are informed, were 'discovered' in the reign of Udimu, when they were already, apparently, regarded as ancient.

The plans and drawings are admirable and so are the descriptions of the tomb and of the objects found in it. But it must be a source of great annoyance to Mr. Emery that his photographs, to the fine quality of which the reviewer can testify, have been so badly reproduced. The printing, too, is not what it might be, the title-page being particularly unsatisfactory. There are a number of misprints, including 'portcelli' and 'portcellis' for 'portcullises' (pp. 6, l. 8; 7, l. 14), and 'certain' for 'certain' (p. 7, l. 11).

The book is fortunately not overloaded with a mass of details, a failing (no doubt on the right side) of many of the more recent works

1. For the sign in front of the bull, which I would read *km*, see *Pyramid*, § 252 b.

2. See Sethe: *Urgeschichte*, § 21 f.

3. J. Dümichen: *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, Pl. I.

4. *Pap.* Berlin 3038, 15, 2.

concerned with excavations in Egypt, but one which makes the reading of them a dreary and tedious task, and the rapid grasp of essentials almost an impossibility. Will not Mr. Emery supply the *Tomb of Hor 'Aha* with an index, which the *Tomb of Hemaka* unfortunately lacks?

A. M. BLACKMAN.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part VIII. The Hellenic House. By DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., Litt.D., and J. WALTER GRAHAM, Ph.D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1938. £3, 7s. 6d.

The most valuable part of the American excavation of Olynthus is undoubtedly the light that it has shed on the classical Greek house, about which the archaeological sources of our knowledge were woefully deficient for any time before the Hellenistic period. And how badly literature sometimes needs the aid of archaeology for its interpretation is shown by the seeming ambiguity of Xenophon's phrases, τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν and τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον in *Memorabilia* III, viii, 8. More than one mistranslation has shown that it needs the discovery of the ground plans of houses regularly built round courts to make it plain to every one that τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν is not the southern part of the building but the part looking south on to the court, the actual northern side of the house, though, indeed, this was clear to E. A. Gardner in 1905 (vide *The Companion to Greek Studies*, 1st edition, p. 553).

This book is very well illustrated with photographs (well reproduced in half-tone), plans and drawings, and it deals thoroughly with all the material. An introduction treats of the city; Part II describes the individual houses; Part III discusses their plans and rooms; Part IV their construction; and Part V their furniture and equipment.

Professor Robinson is to be congratulated on his very convincing interpretation of the apparently inaccessible area beyond the row of bases in certain rooms as the bottom of the kitchen flue.

Less convincing perhaps is his interpretation of the long corridor which is usual in the Olynthic house north of the court and south of the main living-rooms, as the 'pastas' of Vitruvius. This may be right. It may well be indeed that the word having meant a portico in front of a building, much the same as 'prostas' as it must have done in the passage quoted (p. 162) from Herodotus, may when such a portico spread sideways have still been applied to it.

But this seems hardly so certain as Professor Robinson would have us believe. It would seem to be a mistake to quote the Orestes with the complacent remark that Euripides is 'reflecting of course fifth century practice,' as if the passage in question exactly fitted the view put forward. It does not. For while we may assume that the scene in the Orestes is set in the court of the house (provided that the gateway may be pre-

sumed to have afforded a view of the road (p. 67)), yet the action demands not a 'pastas' with open access to the court, as in the 'pastas' put before us in the plans of the Olynthian houses, but something with a locked door that drove the desperate slave to climb out from the shambles within over the top of the architrave through a gap left by a fallen metope slab.

J. P. DROOP.

The Excavations at Erimi, 1933-1935. Final Report by P. DIKAIOS, Curator of the Cyprus Museum. With Chapters by E. M. GUEST and V. SETON-WILLIAMS. Text Figures 1-20 and 1-6. Plates I-XXIX. Cyprus: The Department of Antiquities. 9s. 6d.

Mr. Dikaios and the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus are to be congratulated on this Report, which is clearly written, discusses all relevant questions with a wealth of references, is amply illustrated with an excellent series of photographs, drawings, plans and sections, and is obtainable for the modest sum of 9s. 6d., a welcome reaction against the modern tendency to elaboration and expense in archaeological publications.

Yet this result has not been obtained by any scamping of what is due to the excavation of a settlement that has produced for the first time in any quantity the remains of one of the earliest of the cultural stages of Cyprus. We are given a chapter on the excavation, followed by one on the finds—which includes a discussion of the affinities between the Erimi Red on White pottery and other analogous wares—and then a final chapter of conclusions.

The Erimi culture seems to be directly linked with the immediately preceding cultures of Khirokitia and Sotira, but on the other hand to be separated from the subsequent Early Bronze Age Cypriot culture by radical differences in burial customs, architecture and the ornamentation of pottery. Mr. Dikaios is therefore of opinion that there is a gap in time between the Neolithic people of the round huts and the Bronze users who came after them, and while placing the end of the Erimi culture at about 3000 B.C., a date corroborated by a comparison of the ornamentation on the Erimi Red on White pottery with that on painted pottery of North Syria and Mesopotamia dated to the fourth millennium, he is disposed to agree with Schaeffer in putting the beginning of the Cypriot Early Bronze Age about 2600 B.C., 400 years later than the date hitherto generally though only tentatively assumed.

The chief interest of the volume lies in the account of the Neolithic Red on White ware, as to which we are told that 'the comparison of it with the painted wares of the Asiatic mainland is based on ornamentation only, while closer affinity with the First Neolithic wares of Thessaly may be established both as regards ornamentation and quality of ware.'

Now as regards quality of ware without the opportunity of examining

it one could not venture to disagree, but a close examination of the illustrations quoted on p. 45 suggests that the author is inclined to exaggerate the resemblances between Thessalian A3 β ware ornament and that of Erimi Red on White. Pl. XX, 42, for instance, shows a series of detached loops far from being 'identical' with the continuous zig-zag line shown in *Prehistoric Thessaly*, Fig. 97 *p*, while the dots on *k* of the same figure show a regularity of arrangement not to be seen on Pl. XXI, 3.

One point does call for criticism. All depths are given as from the surface, which is unsatisfactory since the surface is not a constant level. In the sections given on Pls. I and II the depths in Sections AA and BB can indeed be correlated since they are taken at one point where A and B coincide at the northernmost corner of the excavation (Pl. IIA, 2). But the depths on Section FF taken from a different point of surface lower down the slope cannot be correlated at all with the others. It is so easy to relate all measurements of depths to one fixed datum point that there is no excuse for the confused presentation of the facts that follows the neglect to do so.

J. P. DROOP.

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